

PROCEEDINGS AT  
THE FOURTH ANNUAL DINNER  
OF THE  
REPUBLICAN CLUB  
OF NEW-YORK CITY

HELD AT DELMONICO'S ON  
THE EIGHTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTHDAY OF  
ABRAHAM LINCOLN

FEBRUARY 12, 1890



NEW-YORK  
THE DE VINNE PRESS

1890



8<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of



Lincoln's Birthday



Fourth

Annual Dinner

of the

Republican Club

OF THE  
CITY OF  
NEW YORK

at Delmonicos, February 12<sup>th</sup> 1890.

Edward T. Bartlett.

Cephas Brainerd. *Committee* John S. Smith.  
Arthur L. Merriam. Mortimer C. Addoms.  
Job. E. Hedges.

The Honner Lee Bank Note Co. N.Y.

# Toasts

## ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"His life was gentle, and the elements  
So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up  
And say to all the world, this was a Man."—*Shakespeare.*

"The fight must go on. The cause of Civil Liberty must not be surrendered  
at the end of one, or even one hundred defeats."—*Lincoln.*

## THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

"The political parties which I style great, are those which cling to principles  
more than consequences; to general and not to special cases; to ideas and not  
to men."—*De Tocqueville.*

## AMERICAN SHIPPING.

The Republican Party is pledged to the rehabilitation of the merchant marine.

"Heaven speed the canvas gallantly unfurled,  
To furnish and accommodate a world,  
To give the Pole the produce of the Sun,  
And knit the unsocial climates into one."—*Croquer.*

## THE SOLDIERS AND SAILORS OF THE REPUBLIC.

Time will not dim the recollection of their deeds of bravery and devotion to  
Country.

"Each Soldier's name  
Shall shine untarnished on the Rolls of Fame,  
And stand the example of each distant age,  
And add new lustre to the historic page."—*David Humphreys.*

## THE NEW STATES.

"A Star for every State, and a State for every Star."—*R. C. Winthrop.*

"Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant Nation rousing herself like a  
strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an  
eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-  
day beam."—*Milton.*

## THE SOUTHERN FRANCHISE.

A million uncast and uncounted ballots demand the enforcement of the law.

"Election by universal suffrage, as modified by the constitution, is the one  
crowning franchise of the American People."—*William H. Seward.*

## EDUCATION—THE BULWARK OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

"Our needful knowledge, like our needful food, unhedged lies open in life's  
common field, and bids all welcome to the vital feast."—*Young.*

"Education must be universal. It is well when the wise and learned discover  
new truths; but how much better to diffuse the truths already discovered amongst  
the multitude."—*Horace Mann.*

*Celebration of the*  
*50th Anniversary of*




**Lincoln's Birthday**

Fourth  
Annual Dinner  
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Edward T. Bartlett.  
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Joh. C. Hedges.



FEB. 12<sup>th</sup> 1890.

The Dinner for Bank Note Co. N.Y.

GUESTS AND PRESIDENT

| New York Herald.    |    | New York Star. |                     | N. Y. Times.        |    | N. Y. Press.       |    | N. Y. World.        |                     | N. Y. Tribune. |    | Associated Press.  |    | N. Y. Sun. |                     | N. Y. Mail & Express. |    | Staats Zeitung.     |    | James P. Foster. |                   | Wm. Brookfield. |    |
|---------------------|----|----------------|---------------------|---------------------|----|--------------------|----|---------------------|---------------------|----------------|----|--------------------|----|------------|---------------------|-----------------------|----|---------------------|----|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----|
| J. F. Lewis.        | 24 | 25             | W. M. Eate.         | 24                  | 23 | W. M. K. Olcott.   | 24 | 23                  | J. W. Hawes.        | 24             | 23 | Webster C. Estes.  | 24 | 23         | S. M. Milliken.     | 24                    | 23 | J. R. Harris.       | 24 | 23               | Chas. E. Hughes.  | 13              | 9  |
| Albert K. Thompson. | 25 | 26             | Hal Bell.           | 25                  | 26 | Wm. Buhler, Jr.    | 25 | 26                  | J. Edgar Leyscraft. | 25             | 26 | Chas. H. Odell.    | 25 | 26         | Edjaj Keyes.        | 25                    | 26 | H. R. De Milt.      | 25 | 26               | Byron W. Greene.  | 14              | 10 |
| R. W. Jennings.     | 26 | 27             | Edward D. Candee.   | 26                  | 27 | Ernest G. Stedman. | 26 | 27                  | J. G. Cannon.       | 26             | 27 | H. C. Haskell.     | 26 | 27         | Lucius C. Ashley.   | 26                    | 27 | T. R. Harris.       | 26 | 27               | Edward Sloc.      | 15              | 11 |
| Pierre J. Smith.    | 27 | 28             | G. C. Cummings.     | 27                  | 28 | Geo. R. Fitch.     | 27 | 28                  | R. B. Constantine.  | 27             | 28 | Elias R. Peck.     | 27 | 28         | Chas. H. Denison.   | 27                    | 28 | I. T. Stoddard.     | 27 | 28               | Bernard Meyer.    | 16              | 12 |
| John T. Lockman.    | 28 | 29             | J. F. McCandless.   | 28                  | 29 | Theo. Silkmn.      | 28 | 29                  | T. S. Constantine.  | 28             | 29 | Nathaa Peck.       | 28 | 29         | Joseph Ullman.      | 28                    | 29 | Edward B. Thomas.   | 28 | 29               | Charles L. Perry. | 17              | 13 |
| Ernest D. Smith.    | 29 | 30             | L. H. Crall.        | 29                  | 30 | W. J. Bogart.      | 29 | 30                  | H. Wheeler Coombs.  | 29             | 30 | Switz Condé.       | 29 | 30         | James Talcott.      | 29                    | 30 | J. D. Campbell.     | 29 | 30               | E. E. Dickinson.  | 18              | 14 |
| Townsend Rushmore.  | 30 | 31             | F. C. Campbell.     | 30                  | 31 | H. C. Stetson.     | 30 | 31                  | W. T. Woods.        | 30             | 31 | E. M. Youmans, Jr. | 30 | 31         | F. C. Loveland.     | 30                    | 31 | H. H. Benedict.     | 30 | 31               | F. E. De Frate.   | 19              | 15 |
| J. T. Ferguson.     | 31 | 32             | William Strauss.    | 31                  | 32 | Wm. Hoag.          | 31 | 32                  | W. J. Symmes.       | 31             | 32 | Ellis H. Masters.  | 31 | 32         | F. W. Cronkhelt.    | 31                    | 32 | Frank Seamans.      | 31 | 32               | A. A. Hodgman.    | 20              | 16 |
| J. P. Kahler.       | 32 | 33             | Samuel Strauss.     | 32                  | 33 | W. Niles Smith.    | 32 | 33                  | Chas. Schwacofor.   | 32             | 33 | Geo. H. Brouwer.   | 32 | 33         | Philip Carpenter.   | 32                    | 33 | P. D. Cravath.      | 32 | 33               | Cecil Hodgman.    | 21              | 17 |
| Thos. K. Byrne.     | 33 | 34             | James R. Doudge.    | 33                  | 34 | Joseph Eldridge.   | 33 | 34                  | A. Carmichael, Jr.  | 33             | 34 | W. L. Findley.     | 33 | 34         | H. Edwards Rowland. | 33                    | 34 | A. O. Beebe.        | 33 | 34               | Wm. Leary.        | 22              | 18 |
| T. W. Caulfield.    | 34 | 35             | James Phillips, Jr. | 34                  | 35 | G. W. Jones.       | 34 | 35                  | Thos. R. Tuthill.   | 34             | 35 | Chas. F. Quincy.   | 34 | 35         | Samuel Rowland.     | 34                    | 35 | J. W. Quintard.     | 34 | 35               | H. L. Einstein.   | 23              | 19 |
| Amos Rogers.        | 35 | 36             | M. J. Newitter.     | 35                  | 36 | Howard Lockwood.   | 35 | 36                  | E. A. McAlpin.      | 35             | 36 | G. C. Batellell.   | 35 | 36         | Nicholas W. Day.    | 35                    | 36 | Carlton W. Bonfils. | 35 | 36               | E. C. Ray, Jr.    | 24              | 20 |
| Stephen W. Roach.   | 36 | 37             | Rolt. Adria.        | 36                  | 37 | Geo. R. Gibson.    | 36 | 37                  | J. G. Gardiner.     | 36             | 37 | A. B. Knapp.       | 36 | 37         | R. B. Irwin.        | 36                    | 37 | E. W. Emery.        | 36 | 37               | Thomas Brow.      | 25              | 21 |
| Geo. E. Weed.       | 37 | 38             | Wm. Rowland.        | 37                  | 38 | H. C. Post.        | 37 | 38                  | J. G. S. Pyle.      | 37             | 38 | H. F. Leddy.       | 37 | 38         | J. R. Tresidder.    | 37                    | 38 | John Pierce.        | 37 | 38               | Chas. A. Hess.    | 26              | 22 |
| John H. Wood.       | 38 | 39             | H. E. Calkins.      | 38                  | 39 | J. L. Waadling.    | 38 | 39                  | E. M. L. Ehlers.    | 38             | 39 | Frank Smith.       | 38 | 39         | J. O. Corbit.       | 38                    | 39 | Edward E. Gedney.   | 38 | 39               | Jacob Hess.       | 27              | 23 |
| John McDonald.      | 39 | 40             | Robert W. Taylor.   | 39                  | 40 | Alex's Caldwell.   | 39 | 40                  | A. E. Pressinger.   | 39             | 40 | John J. Armstrong. | 39 | 40         | D. J. Cank.         | 39                    | 40 | Elmer S. Smith.     | 39 | 40               | F. C. Huyck.      | 28              | 24 |
| Austin Brainard.    | 40 | 41             | Geo. W. English.    | 40                  | 41 | M. M. Budlong.     | 40 | 41                  | J. F. Miller.       | 40             | 41 | Geo. W. Welsh, Jr. | 40 | 41         | E. J. Birmingham.   | 40                    | 41 | Geo. H. Robinson.   | 40 | 41               | Thos. T. Reed.    | 29              | 25 |
| Brace Haydon.       | 41 | 42             | Thos. H. Hubbard.   | 41                  | 42 | Edward H. Hall.    | 41 | 42                  | Alfred B. Price.    | 41             | 42 | Thos. H. Wood.     | 41 | 42         | Danici Lewis.       | 41                    | 42 | R. A. Kathan.       | 41 | 42               | Fred. G. Gedney.  | 30              | 26 |
| Joseph Pool.        | 42 | 43             | P. E. Stillman.     | 42                  | 43 | W. H. McElroy.     | 42 | 43                  | Edward B. Harper.   | 42             | 43 | E. F. Coe.         | 42 | 43         | E. Berj Ramsdell.   | 42                    | 43 | Chas. W. Frankhard. | 42 | 43               | E. A. Perkins.    | 31              | 27 |
| A. C. Cheney.       | 43 | 44             | Samuel G French.    | 43                  | 44 | N. Tuttle.         | 43 | 44                  | H. C. Du Val.       | 43             | 44 | Sam'l Thomas.      | 43 | 44         | Theo. K. Tuthill.   | 43                    | 44 | Charles H. Patrick. | 43 | 44               | Ed. C. James.     | 32              | 28 |
| F. M. Jeacks.       | 44 | 45             | J. L. N. Hunt.      | 44                  | 45 | Walter S. Baldwin. | 44 | 45                  | John W. Vrooman.    | 44             | 45 | Edward W. Harris.  | 44 | 45         | T. F. Wentworth.    | 44                    | 45 | C. Lambert.         | 44 | 45               | F. W. Carpenter.  | 33              | 29 |
| O. W. Buckingham.   | 45 | 46             | Chas. N. Taintor.   | 45                  | 46 | Henry Hall.        | 45 | 46                  | John W. Jacobus.    | 45             | 46 | Job E. Hedges.     | 45 | 46         | Fred. Roosevelt.    | 45                    | 46 | N. L. Cort.         | 45 | 46               | Frank Cheney.     | 34              | 30 |
| Mortimer C. Addoms. |    | John S. Smith. |                     | Edward T. Bartlett. |    | Charles F. Homer.  |    | James A. Blanchard. |                     |                |    |                    |    |            |                     |                       |    |                     |    |                  |                   |                 |    |

Staats Zeitung.

Chas. E. Hughes.

Byron W. Greene.

Wm. Scott.

Bernard Meyer.

Charles L. Perry.

Benj. L. Fairchild.

F. E. De Frate.

A. A. Hodgman.

D. Cecil Hodgman.

F. A. Hodgman.

D. Dusenbury, Jr.

John Proctor Clarke.

I. W. Vanderpoel.

I. L. Burnet.

D. W. Ballard.

F. H. Beach.

D. W. Mabree.

Nathan Littauer.

Nathaniel Shiverick.

D. Von Witzleben.

D. W. Bloomingdale.

Albert S. Roe.

James P. Foster.

|                   |    |    |                     |
|-------------------|----|----|---------------------|
|                   |    | 13 |                     |
| Edward Slote.     | 14 | 12 | J. M. Deuel.        |
| S. T. Barker.     | 15 | 11 | Geo. H. Treadwell.  |
| E. E. Dickinson.  | 16 | 10 | James W. Perry.     |
| C. M. Benedict.   | 17 | 9  | J. A. Greene.       |
| Geo. F. Miller.   | 18 | X  | 8 H. Allen Tenney.  |
| Frank R. Marks.   | 19 | 7  | Chas. P. Sherwood.  |
| Alex. P. Ketchum. | 20 | Z  | 6 M. T. F. Gourand. |
| Ira H. Brainerd.  | 21 | A  | 5 P. H. McNamee.    |
| W. O. Jones.      | 22 | 4  | I. M. Hall.         |
| N. L. Tunis.      | 23 | 3  | J. E. K. Herrick.   |
| B. F. Allen.      | 24 | 2  | Morris Gross.       |
| Howard R. Bush.   | 25 | 1  | Joseph H. Clapp.    |

Wm. Brookfield.

|                    |   |    |                            |
|--------------------|---|----|----------------------------|
|                    |   | 9  |                            |
| A. Ames Howlett.   | 8 | 10 | Henry Gleason.             |
| James Stokes.      | 7 | 11 | F. H. Ballard.             |
| Delos O. Wickham.  | 6 | 12 | Wm. Erdman.                |
| Adolph H. Fischer. | 5 | X  | 13 W. L. Garey.            |
| W. B. Leigh.       | 4 | Z  | 14 Henry E. Merriam.       |
| Donald McLean.     | 3 | A  | 15 D. Morgan Hildreth, Jr. |
| Chas. Andruss.     | 2 | 16 | R. M. Gallaway.            |
| Clinton Wisner.    | 1 | 17 | George R. Cathcart.        |

hard.

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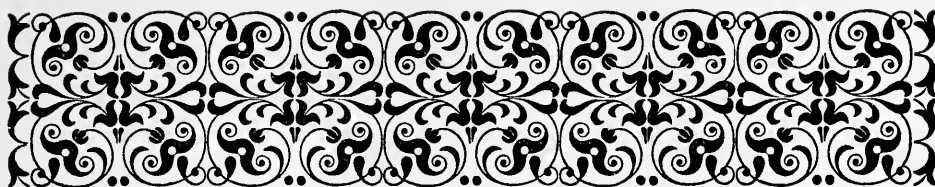
## LIST OF GUESTS.

General JOHN C. FRÉMONT.  
General JOHN N. KNAPP.  
Honorable CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.  
Honorable PHINEAS C. LOUNSBERY.  
Rev. SAMUEL H. VIRGIN, D. D.  
Honorable SHELBY M. CULLOM.  
Honorable CUSHMAN K. DAVIS.  
Honorable GIDEON C. MOODY.  
Honorable JONATHAN P. DOLLIVER.  
Honorable STEPHEN B. ELKINS.  
Colonel ELLIOTT F. SHEPARD.  
Honorable GEORGE F. WEST.  
L. BOLTON BANGS, M. D.  
JONAS M. BUNDY, Esq.  
JAMES STOKES, Esq.  
AUSTIN BRAINARD, Esq.  
Colonel EDWARD C. JAMES.



*The Club acknowledges its keen sense of obligation to Mr. William Edgar Marshall, the artist, for the loan of his famous and original painting of President Lincoln.*





## DINNER OF THE REPUBLICAN CLUB.



THE dinner was prefaced by grace, said by the Rev. Dr. Virgin, pastor of the Pilgrim Congregational Church :

“Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, God of our fathers, we thank thee for the blessings of thy bounty, thy providence, and thy grace. We recognize thee as the author of those multiplied comforts that abound in our homes, the increasing prosperity and fruitful industries that exalt our beloved land. We praise thee that thou hast in every hour of need raised up men specially endowed for the work committed to their hands, and as we gather about these tables to celebrate at this time the birthday of a great soul, we ask that we may be so impressed with thy goodness that we shall go hence more thoroughly to prize the memory of the great leader, and more confident in thy goodness and mercy for all the years to come. For the great Redeemer’s sake. *Amen.*”

When the dinner was ended, and coffee served, the President, CEPHAS BRAINERD, amidst great applause and the singing of patriotic songs, arose and addressed the members of the club as follows :

*Gentlemen :* Would it be convenient for you to suspend for a moment, until I can get my manuscript together. (Laughter.) I am ordered by the committee to make a preliminary address, and I cannot do it if you insist upon singing. The rules upon

this subject are very strict; if any man presumes, for instance, to sing "Rally Round the Flag, Boys," when the toast of "Soldiers and Sailors" is proposed, the highest penalty known to Parliamentary law will be at once inflicted upon him — his name will be mentioned by the chairman. (Laughter and applause.)

Gentlemen, it is but proper that we consider, even in this hour of festivity, the sorrow which has visited the household of two members of our Administration, known personally to many of us, and whom we love. Grief is private and personal, and yet we cannot forget that these two men are performing their duty and service to-day for the public, even in the shadow of death; and though we are joyous here, yet we may not forget their sorrow.

My friend Mr. Foster, at the first of our dinners, stated to the members of the club and to our guests the purposes and aims of the Republican Club, then just beginning its really active life. Mr. Bartlett, who succeeded him, and on the eve of a great Presidential campaign, reviewed the matured plans and desires of the club in regard to the contest which was then close upon us. And Mr. Addoms, who preceded me, adverted at the last dinner to the feelings of our members upon the great victory which the party had won, and their anticipations and hopes in regard to the future which would follow upon it. These addresses leave little for me to say from this place.

The purposes of the Republican Club are unchanged. It belongs to the Republican party and not to men who are members of that party. (Great applause.) Its aspirations are for the success of the Republican party and its principles, and not specially for the success of any one man or body of men who bear the Republican name. (Applause.) Its principles are the principles of the Republican party, not as announced by individual men, but as announced by the convocations of the party in its national gatherings, and for the success of those principles this club will contest while it exists. (Applause.)

And the Republican Club is right; and an evidence that it is right is found in the constant accession to its roll, month by month; in the increase in the enthusiasm of its members, and in the multiplication of its power.

It has the same old antagonist, the Democratic party, unchanged as far as I can observe. I have been familiar with its history, but I do not observe any particular modification in its ways. There are some gentlemen who really believe themselves connected with it, who are engaged in a strenuous effort to keep it up with the age. (Laughter.) They work hard. They preach very earnestly. They seem to be very enthusiastic and determined, but I do not observe that they make the slightest impression upon the Democratic party. It seems to me now, so far as I can understand, exactly where it was in 1856, when its forces were gathered in a final effort at the behest of the slave power.

There is another set of gentlemen, nominally connected with the Democratic party, who are engaged in an effort to impress upon its members the idea that there is such a thing as a principle which ought not to be surrendered in order even to secure success. (Laughter.) They seem to make no impression at all, and they discover from time to time that, instead of being in the party, they are entirely outside. And so we are engaged in fighting the same old Democratic party.

That party has got an enterprise on hand just now. It is a mild form of nullification. By the way, you gentlemen who hear me now are all present, are you not? (Laughter.) You are all here? (Laughter and applause.) Well, the Constitution of the United States provides that a minority of the House may, under appropriate process, bring in a member who has absented himself. Of course, that is all very well. But the Democratic party is now engaged in enforcing the proposition that although the Sergeant-at-arms, under the order of the Speaker, may bring an honorable Representative into the hall under the eye of the Speaker, under the eye of the Clerk, and under the eye of his associates, and when so brought in he can rise and protest, and move and object, and protest again, and yet when the Ayes and Noes are called, he can shut up his mouth and be absent. (Laughter and applause.)

Well, now, that is simply and only and nakedly nullification. It is nothing else in the world. (Applause.) And the proposition to-day on the part of the Democrats in the House is that they will nullify the provision of the Constitution which in effect declares that there shall not be a failure of attendance

on the part of the men who are elected to represent the people in that legislative body. (Applause.)

Well, the Democratic party is starting out on another idea. It does not yet appear how far they will get with that, but we will just wait and see. What is it? We believe in exporting our products. We believe in sending out of the country to a good market everything that we are not able to make available and profitable here. Some of the older members of the club who are listening to me will remember that there was a time when the judicial force of the United States was engaged in the business of preventing the importation of a certain class of goods, and the importer was threatened with the forfeiture of his property and the hanging of the captain of the ship that brought that property — Negro slaves — in. And now some, high in the Democratic party, suggest the desirability and propriety of exporting some of our products, namely, citizens of the United States of African descent. (Laughter and applause.)

In order to facilitate that exportation and that disposition of Republican voters and citizens, the Democratic party, which on principle is opposed to subsidies, proposes in this particular instance to subsidize the voter, subsidize the ship-owner and subsidize the commander, and subsidize everything else and everybody else in order to make that exportation extensive and effective. (Laughter and applause.)

Now whether that form of exportation and that form of subsidy will become Democratic doctrine in the next Presidential campaign, I am unable to say, but it looks very much like it now. (Laughter.)

The great service which we just now held in the City of New-York, celebrating the 100th anniversary of the organization of the Supreme Court of the United States, fitly closed the Centennial observances pertaining to the establishment of this great nation, and we enter now upon the second century of our history. And we can felicitate ourselves that the desire expressed by a great statesman and orator of an earlier dinner (Mr. Evarts) has been realized: "That by our next election we are to launch our Government, with a new President for the first term, upon our second hundred years. We are bound to intrust it only with men, and with principles, and with courage, and with patriotism that can follow, in the



coming century and long after, in the path that is illuminated by the public virtues of Washington and of Lincoln." (Cries of "Good, good," and applause.) And so we enter upon this second century.

The time has not come in public discussion, nor in the disclosure of the purposes of the Administration in its work, for a full and fair estimate of what it has done in the very short past of its history. I cannot but feel that the debates in Congress, which will take place, if ever the Democratic party shall allow us to have rules under which the House of Representatives can proceed with its appropriate business (laughter and applause), will vindicate and establish in the minds of all men the correctness, the wisdom, the faithfulness of this Republican Administration to its pledges and its duty.

But let me call your attention to two things: President Garfield's Administration invited the representatives of the American Republics to assemble for the consideration of the great questions which the philosopher Kant sought to solve in what has been called his "dream of perpetual peace"—for the consideration of the great plans which will, it is hoped, terminate forever the probabilities and even the possibilities of war between sister nations. (Applause.) Various changes prevented the gathering of that congress. As soon as the Republican Administration came into power under the last election, there was called together at its invitation the representatives of all these republics, for the purpose of considering the business, the financial and mercantile questions which arise out of the relations between these great nations, and with the promise of the most happy results. That was but a step, though a long step, toward the gathering of that other congress, which will settle, we may believe, forever on this continent the question whether disputes which have heretofore been adjusted by war, or by long, angry diplomatic discussions, shall now be disposed of finally, to the satisfaction of all parties, by the peaceful methods of arbitration. (Applause.)

Again, the last Administration wrestled through its whole term with the question as to whether there could be an adequate treaty for the surrender of criminals between Great Britain and this country; and it did not accomplish such a desirable and necessary result as that; and the old treaty, made in '42,

still subsisted between these two nations. And what is it under the wisdom which presides over the foreign relations of this country? (Great applause.)

Mr. Depew arose and said: Gentlemen, three cheers for James G. Blaine. Which were given with great enthusiasm.

Three cheers were then proposed and given for Chauncey M. Depew.

Mr. BRAINERD: Gentlemen, I am obliged to state that the call for cheers and the responses on the part of the audience violated all rules. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. DEPEW: The rules have not been adopted. (Laughter.)

Mr. BRAINERD: And that the most grave and serious penalty will be visited upon both the offending parties. (Great laughter.) The gentlemen in this audience are now instructed carefully and securely to corral the proposer of the cheers and keep him in hold until the other addresses are made, and then I will agree to turn him loose upon the audience. (Great applause and laughter.)

And you are not to get off easily, because I instruct the President of the Central Railroad, when he is turned loose, to punish all to his heart's content. (Laughter.)

(Three cheers were then proposed and given for Mr. Brainerd.)

And now let me answer the question I put when interrupted. Under the present Administration an extradition treaty has been agreed upon with Great Britain which receives universal approval.

There are gentlemen here who fought through the campaign of 1856. (Cries of "Yes.") Nothing pleases my heart so much to-night as the presence of the man who carried the standard under which was fought the first battle against entrenched, vindictive, and then-regnant slavery. (Three hearty cheers were then given for General Frémont.) And although we did not win that battle, we were ready with unbroken lines and unshaken courage to enter upon the campaign in 1860, when we won. And I cannot forget, as you cannot forget, the refrain of one of the songs that cheered us in that early contest:

"Free soil, Free speech, Free press, Free men,  
Frémont, and Victory!"

(Three cheers were again given for General Frémont, who arose and bowed his acknowledgments to the audience.)

Mr. BRAINERD: And now with my speech half made, and you waiting, no doubt patiently, to hear others, I give place for letters of regret which the Secretary will read.

The secretary of the club, Mr. Job E. Hedges, then read letters from gentlemen who were unable to be present. (These letters will be found in the appendix.)

The president then said: Gentlemen, the first toast upon the list, of course, is "Abraham Lincoln."

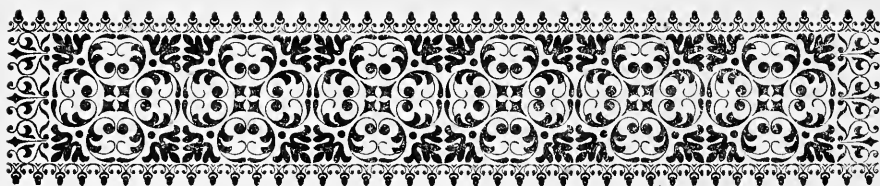
"His life was gentle; and the elements  
So mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up,  
And say to all the world, 'This was a man.'"—*Shakspeare*.

"The fight must go on. The cause of Civil Liberty must not be surrendered at the end of one, or even one hundred defeats!"—*Lincoln*.

I have great delight in presenting to you a gentleman who walked the streets of Springfield; who tried cases in the courts of that city and in the State of Illinois with Abraham Lincoln; who was his neighbor, his familiar friend: Senator Cullom, of Illinois. (Great applause.)

(Three cheers were given for Senator Cullom.)





## SPEECH OF SENATOR CULLOM.

*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Republican Club of the City of New-York:* I esteem it a great honor to be present on this occasion, and a still greater honor to be called upon to respond to the announcement just made by your president.

How true the utterance of the matchless Shakespeare of the Old World when applied to the immortal Lincoln of the New! "The elements were so mixed in him, that Nature might stand up, and say to all the world, 'This is a man.'" His life was gentle, pure, noble, and courageous; and from his early manhood all who knew him were ready to say of him, "This is a man." The name of Lincoln, Mr. President and gentlemen, has been to me as a household word from my very earliest recollection. He was the friend of my father in my early boyhood, and I am proud to believe that he was my friend for many years before his death. (Applause.) I knew him somewhat in the sacred circle of his family. I knew him in the ordinary walks of life. I knew him as a practicing lawyer at the bar. I knew him at the hustings as a public speaker and debater. I knew him as President of the United States, in that period in our history when men's souls were tried, and when the life of our nation seemed to be suspended as by a thread. In the home circle he was gentle, affectionate, and true. In the ordinary walks of life he was plain, simple, and generous; a perfect type, so far as men can be, of all that makes a worthy citizen of a great Republic. At the bar he was conscientious, fair, powerful, and he seldom failed to gain his cause against the most able legal antagonists.

On the platform of debate he had few, if any, equals in this or any other country.

Mr. President, the world has had few such men as Abraham Lincoln. He was of gentle nature, great in heart, in head, and in deed. As a political leader he was actuated in his movements by strong convictions of duty, and had great power in convincing people of the righteousness of his cause. No man could stand in his presence and hear him without feeling sure of the honesty of his purposes and declarations, or of the strength of his arguments in behalf of whatever cause he championed. I have heard him often. I heard several of the famous debates between him and the great Douglass. I heard his great speech in which he uttered, I may say, that immortal declaration, that a house divided against itself can not stand. It must be all one thing or all the other; and I do not believe that an address was ever delivered in this country that produced a more profound and lasting impression upon the minds of the people of the country than this.

As Chief Magistrate of the nation, he was wise and prudent. He lived to witness that foul blot of slavery, which gave the lie to the Declaration of Independence, swept away. He was the saviour of the Union and the liberator by his own hand of four millions of slaves.

Great-hearted patriot (apostrophizing the portrait of Lincoln), and martyr to the cause of Union and liberty, how we honor your name and your memory to-night! You fought a good fight. You finished your work. The world is better for your having lived in it, and it will call you blessed as long as the love of liberty shall dwell in the soul of humanity, which will be as long as time shall last upon the earth. (Great applause.)

Mr. President, if I may be allowed to say it, Abraham Lincoln was given to the nation by Illinois. It seems to me but yesterday that I felt the warm grasp of his hand, and saw him leave his home at the capital of his State, where I have the honor of residing, to enter upon a larger field of usefulness at the capital of the nation, where he won immortality and died with a martyr's crown of glory upon his brow. (Great applause.)

Never was a nobler man born of woman, and never throbbed a purer heart in human breast. The distinguished of the Old World, proud of their claims of long descent, may sneer at his humble birth; but, in my estimation, he was one of the greatest of men.

I do not know, fellow-citizens, but you may think me too partial toward that great man; but I have read his speeches, have seen him in the common walks of life, walked with him, as my friend here said, upon the streets, heard him talked about ever since I was ten years old, and I have deliberately come to the conclusion that no man has ever existed on the American continent superior to Abraham Lincoln. (Great applause.)

By his consummate statesmanship he saved the republic from the evils of anarchy, and with self-denying patriotism refused to assume almost regal power when it was within his reach. He educated public opinion until it became ready to endorse what he knew to be the right, and what wise statesmanship demanded at his hands.

Fellow-citizens, if you will think of his career as Chief Magistrate of the nation in that period of national peril, you will agree with me that his course and wisdom were such as to lead the people, and teach them as though he taught them not, and then he did what the country was ready to have done. (Great applause.)

While Abraham Lincoln had not the advantages of a scholastic education, yet he fully appreciated and understood the beautiful in sentiment and diction, and no man has uttered more elegant language and tender words, touching the hearts of humanity, than he. To me his utterances were both powerful and elegant, and I would rather be the author of that great paper by which he gave freedom to four millions of slaves than to be the author of the poems of Homer or the plays of Shakspeare. (Great applause.) He was the saviour of the Union, but though he did live to see the power of the Rebellion broken, he did not live to see the authority of the Union established in all the rebellious States. He was permitted to go up into Mount Nebo and to catch a glimpse of the promised land of the restored Union, but his weary feet were not allowed to cross the border that separated it from the wilderness of civil war. In the very moment of victory he was robbed of life by the cruel hand of a traitorous assassin, and his body was brought back amid the lamentations of a whole nation—even his foes giving to his merit the meed of tears—to find its last resting-place in the soil of Illinois. As I gazed for the last time upon his face on that solemn occasion, sad and gentle in death as it had been in life, I

thanked God that the good that he had done would live after him and give his name in honor to story and to song. (Applause.)

It is said that the story of every human life, if rightly told, may be a useful lesson to those who survive. There are none whose lives teach to Americans or to the world a grander or more profitable lesson than the life of Abraham Lincoln. The study of his life leads to private and public virtue; to correct ideas of our relations to each other; and to moral courage to stand by our convictions.

Lincoln was a child of Providence, raised up in a period in our history when there was need of such a man. A pioneer raised in a cabin, laboring with his hands, acquainted with the woods and fields, he communed with nature in all its beauty and grandeur as it voiced itself to the quiet man of destiny. He was a martyr to the cause of Union and liberty, a noble victim to duty.

To repeat the sentiment embodied in the announcement of the President, "The fight must go on," and I am glad to the very bottom of my heart that I have the honor of standing in the presence of a great assembly of intelligent, earnest Republicans, who will join in that sentiment when I say that the fight must go on. "The cause of liberty must not be surrendered at the end of one or even a hundred defeats." (Applause.) Such words, uttered by Lincoln, gave evidence of his convictions to duty. "Yes," said he, "I will speak for freedom against slavery so long as the Constitution of our country guarantees free speech; until everywhere in this broad land the sun shall shine, the wind shall blow, and the rain shall fall upon no man who goes forth to unrequited toil." (Great applause.)

Mr. President and gentlemen, the fight must go on in favor of liberty and justice to the people of all classes, colors, and conditions in our country until every man in all this broad land shall stand equal before the law in civil and political rights, equal in fact and equal in law, with no system of intimidation at elections, or fraudulent counting when the polls are closed. (Applause.)

The fight must go on, and no surrender at the end of one or one hundred defeats, until honest elections are secured everywhere in this country.

The fight must go on until merciless monopolists are subordinated, and the interests of the great body of the people are carefully regarded.

The fight must go on until trusts and combinations, prompted by greed and inordinate avarice, shall be broken up.

The fight must go on until the mission of the Republican party, founded by Lincoln and his compeers, shall have been fully accomplished in the destruction of all barriers to perfect equality in the civil and political rights of all the people of the country.

Gentlemen, how glorious the results of the great culminating struggle in which Lincoln was the mighty leader on the side of liberty! Did you ever reflect upon the consequences of a divided Union? Thanks to Lincoln, the great leader; and to that wise statesman, William H. Seward of New-York, another great leader of the Republican party (great applause); and to my distinguished friend—and I am proud to have him here in your presence to-night—the gallant pathfinder and hero of the late war, General Frémont (great applause, cheering, and waving of handkerchiefs); and to Grant, that silent man (great applause and cheers); and to Sherman (continued applause and cheering); and to Sheridan and Thomas (great applause and cheers); and to Hancock, the gallant leader (continued applause and cheers); and to my dearest friend of latter days, the gallant John A. Logan (great applause); and to the great army of patriots whom they and others commanded in the struggle for national life, the dissolution of the Union was not accomplished.

How we are blessed as a nation! No standing army worth the name. No royal dynasty in this country. Fellow-citizens, in a little while every nation on the American continent, I trust will be in full sympathy with each other, from the frozen regions of the north to the lower peninsula of the south. (Great applause.) The people sovereign. No danger from foreign foe. Surrounded by the two oceans, the lakes, and the gulf. What an opportunity to build up the greatest nation the world ever saw!

A career of unprecedented glory awaits this nation. Slavery gone. Secession banished, I trust for all time. No gloomy clouds to obscure the light. "Let the mystic chords of memory swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as



surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature"; and let us as citizens study and imitate the life and character of Lincoln, in its devotion to liberty, in the hope that the great principle for which Lincoln lived and died shall preserve this country as the purest and best country on the face of the globe. (Great applause.)

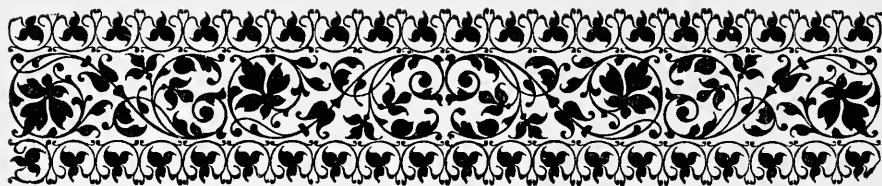
The Chairman, Mr. BRAINERD, said: The gentlemen of the club will not forget, I am sure, the police duty which I imposed upon them. Its due performance is essential for the punishment of all parties. (Laughter.)

The next regular toast, properly, and in the order of the committee, is "The Republican Party."

"The political parties which I style great are those which cling to principles more than consequences; to general and not to especial cases; to ideas and not to men," is the declaration of that great French writer and philosopher, Tocqueville.

The members of the club who are aware of my views know that I take great pleasure now in presenting to them a distinguished Member of Congress from the State of Iowa, who is guilty of "the atrocious crime of being a young man"; Mr. Dolliver. (Great applause.)





### SPEECH OF MR. DOLLIVER.

*Mr. President, and Gentlemen:* I do not see, my friends, why the chairman should whisper low the name of Iowa. (Laughter and applause.) It is true that two months ago, stepping on a corkscrew, we gave the Democratic party an advantage. (Laughter.) But Iowa is all right yet. (Cries "Good for Iowa.")

I find very great pleasure in accepting the hospitality of this club, which, in these Democratic waters, keeps afloat the flag of sound politics. (Applause.) I am all the more gratified at the privilege of being permitted to speak on a day set apart in the reverent affection of the world to the memory of that inspired statesman into whose hands God committed the life of the nation, with all its shining riches of public liberty. (Great applause.)

We do not fitly honor the name of Abraham Lincoln, if we do not recognize about his historic figure the heroes and statesmen of the civil war, and, back of them all, the nameless millions of the United States, who gave with willing hearts all that they had to the treasury of the national defense. (Great applause.)

Nor have we any right to forget, recalling the sentiment that you have given me, that every idea which lived through the fire of the Rebellion was Republican; that Abraham Lincoln wrought his mighty work as a Republican, and at last sanctified by his blood the precepts of the Republican faith. (Great applause.)

A school of opinion has come forward without invitation in our time that suspects everybody who habitually consults an authentic history of the United States. (Laughter.) And if

a man happens to open the volume at the chapter where the great President, having finished the argument for peace, turns to the enlisting loyalty of the nation and orders the volunteer regiments to stand between the Capital and the big half of the Democratic party — if he happens to open at that page, a hundred voices, most of them betraying evidences of nervous exhaustion, warn him not to revive issues that ought to be forgotten. (Great laughter and applause.)

Now, I claim that a nation that cheerfully consents to forget its own history is on the main road to a style of history that nobody who has previous engagements will care to remember. (Great laughter and applause.)

For one, I am opposed to having the history of the Rebellion written up, as it has been in the last five years, in a way not to hurt the feelings of the surviving friends. (Great laughter and applause.)

I don't want the school children of the United States to break their health down over volumes that, for the purposes of education, are just about as valuable as Hostetter's Almanac. (Great laughter.)

My doctrine is for everybody who is ashamed of the past, who is afraid of meeting people that used to know him, to offer his apology and let the dead past bury its dead. (Laughter.) But let every man who takes an honest pride in his country, who feels and knows that in his own lifetime the fortune of the human race was put to stake, and was saved by an infinite outpouring of blood and tears and treasure — let every such man keep his eyes wide open to the supreme facts in the history of his own times. (Great applause.)

In 1860, for example, there was n't any Government at Washington to speak of. (Laughter.) Only a Democratic Administration (great laughter) quartered there in hopeless paralysis, while the representatives of the slave power sat about the hotels in the fragrant aroma of ten-cent cigars and arranged their infamous plot against the national life. (Applause.) The Republican party came upon the scene, and with one stroke of the grandest hand of these modern centuries, Abraham Lincoln lifted the old republic of our fathers above the noise of politics and the flame of battle, and created the nation of America. (Great applause.) That was truly our heroic age, and from it we have left over some ideal

heroes like our friend, the first leader of the Republican party, who sits here by my side (referring to General Frémont amid great applause), bearing already upon his brow the laurels of fadeless renown. (Great applause.)

Again, in 1860, the credit and resources of this Government were absolutely gone. There was n't a nickel in the Treasury, and the United States of America, like an impecunious traveler, had to put up its baggage for a night's lodging. (Great laughter.) The idea of lending James Buchanan's Secretary of the Treasury any considerable sum of money never entered the head of any banker in the world. (Laughter.) That official hawked the bonds of your Government in every market, and could not actually raise cash enough to enable the Administration to move its household effects out of the Capitol. No nation ever suffered such an humiliation. It is absolutely impossible, and especially for us who are younger, to comprehend the mortifying situation of a great people compelled to see their bonds laughed at by every pawnbroker in the world. Why, even Silcott, the desperate scoundrel who has just fleeced the American Congress, would in those days have been able to at least preserve the externals of virtue, for the simple lack of anything to steal. (Continued laughter.)

And the first business of the Republican party was to bring order to the chaos of the national finances, and restore the national credit, and to that work were brought such resources of heart and brain and conscience that to-day the bonds of the country are so good that the owners refuse to take the cash for them, and up to now we have to go to some trouble to persuade the Government to apply its assets in that direction. (Laughter.)

Again, in 1860, the slave power, as a social and political institution, had entrenched itself in all the fortresses of American society and politics. It sat upon every throne of office and opinion. The slave and the slave's friend were the victims of a common fury. It mattered absolutely nothing to Boston whether it was William Lloyd Garrison or Anthony Burns that the mob was dragging through the streets. Burns was a fugitive slave. Garrison, but for the inspired conscience that was in him, had been a fugitive freeman. It is altogether impossible, and especially for the younger generation, to un-

derstand the night of the political barbarism that had settled upon the republic, until no man dared even to expect the dawn; and yet within two years of the day the militia of Virginia were dancing in drunken carousal about the scaffold of John Brown, the soul of that poor old immortal maniac was marching before the mightiest armed host the world ever saw, upon whose banners the Republican party had written the sublime promises of public liberty. (Great applause.)

My countrymen, I have never thought it remarkable that when Republicans come together to talk politics they should think and speak a little of the past, of its splendid memories, of its mighty achievements, of its high and noble purposes, of its great names that have gone now, so many of them, from the strife of politics and of time. You have read that Hebrew psalm prepared by Asaph for the solemn ritual of the public worship, which recounts the strange vicissitudes of the Hebrew people from Moses to David. Exactly as the people of Israel used to sing, age after age, their majestic songs, wrought into syllables of music by their national poets, so, I have sometimes thought, in every American home, not only in the mansions of luxury, but in the quiet cottages of the people, where love builds its palaces of white marble and lays up its treasures of bright gold, the worn and patient face of Abraham Lincoln should look from the walls, and little children, turning the illustrated pages of his life, should come to years educated in the fascinating legends of patriotism and liberty. (Great applause.)

No political party can live upon its record alone. (Cries of "Good.") If that could be done, we could do it. (Laughter and applause.) Nor on its promises alone. If that could be done, the Democratic managers of our day would have done it. (Laughter and applause.)

The fitness of a party to survive depends altogether upon its adaptation to the new problems of the time, and upon the fidelity with which it completes its unfinished business. (Laughter.)

The equal rights of citizenship, so eloquently alluded to by Senator Cullom, already made secure by the letter of Constitutions and laws, must be made good in truth and in fact in every quarter of the republic. (Cries of "Good," and applause.)

I don't know how you gentlemen are fixed on theology (great laughter), but I believe in the providence of God, and that this nation has invited infinite penalties for its miserable acquiescence in the overthrow of the rights of free citizenship in one-tenth of the national territory. (Applause.)

We sometimes wonder what defeated the Republican party in 1884. Some think that it was that exquisite mixture of headache and gall that has passed into comedy as the Mugwump. (Great laughter and applause.) Others believe that it was the moss-covered solo of Dr. Burchard. (Laughter.) Others that it was the manager of the Sunday afternoon department of Democratic politics, the late Governor of Kansas. (Laughter.)

I say that neither the one nor the other, nor all of them put together, could have defeated the Republican party if the party had been faithful to the duty laid upon it by the providence of God, in the emancipation of a helpless race of people. (Great applause.)

We hear a good deal in these days about ballot reform, and some of us have made up our minds to import the article from the South Seas. (Laughter.) Without disparaging that commercial enterprise, I want to say that the true ballot reform in the United States is the kindled fire of public opinion that shall make it impracticable for men or parties to hold in their hands in peace the proceeds of any felony against the rights of American citizens. (Cries of "Good," and great applause.)

And the day is coming in the United States when no man shall dare to present himself for the oath of any office from a neighborhood in which the vote is not freely cast and honestly counted. (Great applause.) Whether you believe me or not, the man in this latitude who clamors for the Australian system of voting, without breaking ranks with the Mississippi system of counting votes, is an obvious humbug, whether he be the Governor of New-York or the ex-President of the United States. (Laughter and applause.) The Republican party proposes to take this matter up under the head of unfinished business. (Great laughter.) And I am glad to know that we have a man in the Chair of the House of Representatives (great applause) great enough in body and in brain to deliver that curious assembly from the control of the seedy statesmen who have for so many years kept famous

on motions to adjourn. (Laughter.) I have just come from there, and I can assure the timid that what Mr. Blaine (great applause) many years ago foresaw and feared would be the outbreak of a volcano is now definitely known, on closer approach, to present only the phenomena of a subway explosion. (Great applause and laughter.)

The reason why the Republican party has to fight for its life at every election is because we have been too slow in taking up our unfinished business. There are a good many people throughout the United States, most of them men of property and influence, who applauded the late President when he set the veto of his little brief authority against the decent provision of law for the surviving veterans of the old Union army. The American people read those messages day after day, each one of them carrying sorrow to some cripple, some widow, some old father or mother; and, in spite of all they could do, they could not help thinking of that day in March, 1865, when Abraham Lincoln stood on the east portico of the Capitol, and in the name of the American people promised to take care of him who had borne the battle, of his widow, and his orphan children. (Great applause.) They could not help thinking of that rainy April morning, just before treason had done its worst, and that great spirit found the shore where neither

“steel nor poison,  
Malice domestic, foreign levy, nothing  
Could touch him further.”

He went down to visit the old hospital at City Point. The medical director tried to dissuade him from his purpose; but he said that he must go down there and talk a little with his boys that had fought the battles of the country. And he did go down there, and all day long, at the bedside of the sick and wounded and the dying, he held a reception more princely than if blazing chandeliers had reflected the jewels of the capital; for, as the historian tells us, he took in his own strong hands the wasted and feverish hands of more than six thousand men, and spoke to each one of them priceless words of comfort and cheer. Ah, my friends, how swift the years have fled! And yet what is twenty-five years in the life of a nation? It is but as yesterday when it is past, or as a watch in the night. In these strange times, when the great centers of American

wealth and business have set the dogs of avarice and of bloodless greed to guard the national treasury against the worn-out veterans of the Union army, I invoke the spirit of Abraham Lincoln to kindle anew the sentiments of gratitude and justice. (Great applause.) This nation is rich enough, and prosperous enough, and decent enough to take care of the surviving veterans of the Union army and of their dependent families, and it makes absolutely no difference what it costs. (Great applause.) And if I could get the ear of the great Exchanges of American business, I would say to them that it is better for all palaces of wealth to be plundered, for every bond to be repudiated, every contract violated, every coin of the realm to be debased, rather than that the old age of the Union army should be embittered by the approaching shadows of poverty and of want. (Great applause.)

The Republican party intends to take that matter up under the head of unfinished business. And I rejoice that we have a man now in the chair of Lincoln whose experience enables him to comprehend the national obligation, and whose heart is touched by a feeling for the infirmities of his disabled comrades. Already his Administration has drawn to its support the great body of the people of this country; who need and seek no office, who prefer to work for themselves, rather than for the public, for their bread and clothes. If a mistake has been made, it is the mistake of the party and not of the President, and lies in the direction of despising the common motives of political activity and shutting the doors of honorable party service in the face of honorable party ambition. My theory is that a man, whether in the party or out of it, who can see no difference between a Republican and a Democrat ought to join the choir invisible. (Great laughter.) He belongs with the sifted few, the colorless and advertised specimens of virtue, the *delicatæ superbæ* among the orchids of our public life. If there is one place about the capital to-day more comfortable for a Republican than any other, it is the modest official quarters of our friend General James S. Clarkson (long-continued applause), a man who not only has Democratic blood on his hands, but good Republican blood in his hands. (Applause.) And who believes, what everybody knows, that nothing ruins a political party as soon as to have a thin arterial circulation. (Great laughter and applause.) For my



part, I want to see the principles of the Republican party recognized in every department of the Government, and if in the process we happen to see the awkward squad of reform on its way to the rear, we can moderate our distress by considering that while they rest from their labors, their works do not follow them. (Great laughter.)

Another word, and I have done. The appearance of a man like Abraham Lincoln in American politics is not an accident. It was the signal for the disappearance of all the miserable aristocracies of race, of creed, of rank, and of wealth, and for the coronation of the divine royalty of upright manhood. I would have the Republican party go back to the grave of its greatest leader, and kneel there upon the sacred earth, and reconsecrate its service to the plain people of the United States. (Great applause.)

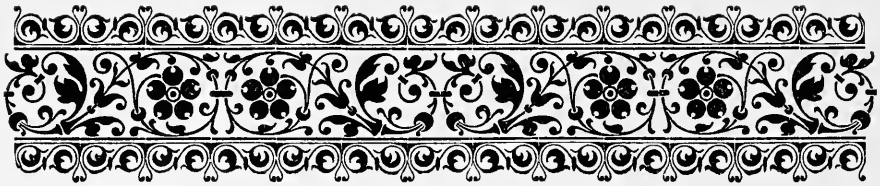
We must not forget that the war for the Union meant exactly what Abraham Lincoln said, when, to the extra session of 1861, he wrote that the war for the Union was a people's contest, a struggle to maintain in the world that form and substance of government, the leading object of which was to elevate the condition of men, to lift the burdens from the shoulders of all, to make clear the pathway of laudable pursuits for all, and to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life. (Great applause.)

And now, my fellow-citizens, I thank you for the kindness with which you have listened to me. (Great applause.)

Mr. BRAINERD: The next toast in the arrangement of the committee is "American Shipping." Governor Dingley, of Maine, was invited to speak upon this topic, but he is detained in Washington under the order of the Republican caucus. So we come to the toast of "The Soldiers and Sailors of the Republic." Time will not dim the recollection of their deeds of bravery and devotion to their country.

"Each Soldier's name  
Shall shine untarnished on the Rolls of Fame,  
And stand the example of each distant age,  
And add new luster to the historic page."

"I present to you with the greatest satisfaction a soldier, an orator, and a statesman; Senator Davis, of Minnesota." (Three cheers were then proposed and given for Senator Davis as he arose.)



## SPEECH OF SENATOR DAVIS.

*Mr. President and Members and Guests of the Republican Club of the City of New-York :* If there ever was a wish near and dear to my heart, it is that I could do justice to this occasion of rampant and incarnate Republicanism. (Applause.)

You will be disappointed, and I assure you my disappointment will be greater than yours, that I shall not be adequate to an occasion which will ever be memorable in the recollections of my life. Circumstances not necessary for me to mention compel me to present to you some disjointed reflections, by no means prepared, except in meditation, but which, none the less, will come from a full and overflowing heart.

Mr. President, it is fitting that the soldiers and sailors of the great republic be commemorated in speech on every occasion when men honor the memory

“—— of the noblest man  
That ever lived in the tide of time.”

Wherever memory evokes the shade of Abraham Lincoln, the soldiers and sailors of the republic stand around him as his inseparable escort; and yet he stands apart even from them. He wears laurels which war never gave to any warrior or to any statesman.

At the mention of his name the citizens of the republic—the men, the women, the children, the student from his closet, the laborer dingy from his toil, the black man groping for liberty among the chains which he struck off—rise up around him as a guard of everlasting honor. This can be said of no other statesman in history, excepting, perhaps, Washington. Cæsar appears, but with him is the Roman legion and a con-

stitution overthrown. Cromwell appears, and beside him are the Ironsides, mighty in prayer and fight. Napoleon arises to our view, his bended brow fixed upon kingdoms to be dismembered, and gloomy and shaded with the prefiguration of approaching coronations; but the Imperial Guard is with him always. But when the great defender and restorer of American institutions arises to the sight, the American citizen soldier, sailor, and civilian, dead and alive, of a generation that is past and of a generation that now exists, accompany him with honor. Not alone those who stood by him in that tremendous struggle, but also our erring brothers, who have learned also to revere his memory. (Applause.)

The limitations of this occasion prohibit any very minute discussion or classification of the merits of the great army that preserved the Union. But this is to be noted: our civil war was not like any other which ever has been waged upon this planet. The civil wars of Spain were Spaniard against Spaniard. The civil wars of France were Frenchmen against Frenchmen. The civil wars of Germany were German against German. But, to the restoration of the American Union, there were enrolled in the Union army men of every clime. The German brought his love of liberty with him. The Scandinavian brought the lessons of the great Gustavus Adolphus. The Frenchman brought the aspirations of the first French Revolution. The Irishman, trodden down for generation after generation, sprang to the defense of a foreign flag, and fought for that liberty which centuries of effort on his part have not enabled him to reclaim at home. And the consequence was that the war was an educator of all these men. We do not owe the perpetuation of our institutions, and the salvation of the republic, to those alone whose ancestors have lived here for centuries back. It was the men of every clime, of every nation, taught by that irrepressible instinct for freedom which exists in every human breast, who sprang to the defense of institutions wherein their instinct taught them that all human rights and all hopes of an enduring liberty are garnered up.

The affection of Mr. Lincoln for the American soldier is one of his most marked characteristics. Where, in all history, has the heart of a ruler ever gone out towards the common soldier as did the heart of Abraham Lincoln? How everything he

ever said or wrote is charged with pathos for those self-denying and gallant men. You remember his reply to Erastus Corning, who protested against the expulsion of Vallandigham, when he said, "Must I shoot the simple-minded boy who deserts, and not touch a hair of the head of the wily agitator who induces him to desert? I think it is Constitutional and the better part to repress the agitator and save the innocent boy." (Great applause.)

There was another remarkable feature about the soldiers and sailors of the republic. It is so trite and commonplace itself that we do not realize the fact. It was the greatest army ever marshaled by civilized man; but yet it went back as peacefully to civil life as the rain of the violent tempest disappears into the soil.

Other armies have done this, it is true; but this army did what no other army ever did. Returning into the ways of civil life and production as they did, they proceeded to extend the domains of their country in its unsettled regions, until they established new commonwealths over an area nearly as great as the territory they saved to the Union by conquest. (Applause.) Do you remember how, when the war ended, civilization stood pausing on our Western frontiers a few miles west of the Mississippi River?

Do you remember the problem which presented itself before this people then, under what circumstances and by what means, if at all, the empire of the republic, so far as civilization and the institutions of state were concerned, could ever be extended over that vast region.

Look at it then, and look at it to-day. There is no more frontier. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, across the northern boundary, across the central region of the republic, and across the southern region, civilization has completed her march, and institutions of municipal and State government exist there in all their perfection. Who did this? Under the processes which existed before the Rebellion, it was a matter of slow growth and apparent impossibility. But the American soldier, used as he had been to the traversing of immense distances, to frequent changes of condition, the moment he was released from the obligations of war, dedicated himself to the arts of peace and of constructive statesmanship, and in a time within the memory of the youngest man in this room

all this magnificent and solid work of civilization has been brought to pass.

Mr. President, other armies have been neglected by an ungrateful country. Not so this army.

The army of Cromwell made England feared on every coast of Europe from Constantinople to Dantzic. The terror of their name was invoked by the laureate of Paradise to

“avenge the slaughter’d saints  
Whose bones lay scattered on the Alpine mountains cold.”

They taught the nations that kings have heads. The followers of Cromwell and their fellow-Puritans in America even at that time were laying the foundations of a republic of sixty millions of people, which more than two hundred years afterwards brought together armies numbering more than two millions of men for its preservation. The Stuarts, the Democratic party of that time, returned to power. The soldier of the Commonwealth was despised. The great poet who had raised his voice *pro populo Anglicano* became a tolerated recluse. The remains of the great Protector were dugged from the grave and gibbeted. The soldier was made sport of by the wit of South, preaching before a cynical and royal voluptuary. He was pilloried by the humor of Butler. He was defiled upon the stage by the obscene genius of Wycherly. He passed into disrepute, and there was little honor for him until after his death, when history gathered up his ashes into her everlasting urn.

The soldiers of the first Napoleon beat down the gates of every capital in Europe, and made the name of France glorious wherever line was read or word was spoken. Their task was ended in the return of the obese pitiless Bourbons, the Democratic party of that time. The veteran saw his titles taken away, his emoluments retained, his pensions diminished or withheld.

Not so the army of the great republic. As much to-day as in those days of yore, when they marched down the streets of the cities and villages of this country, never more perhaps to return, beats the warm feeling of gratitude to the American soldier. Did you ever consider and contrast the condition of our country before the war and what it became shortly afterwards? What were we then? Why, there were two parties

in this country who were joint and hostile tenants of a common domain. Our navy, in effect, carried two flags. Liberty was a tolerated alien in her own heritage. So anxious was the South for the extension of slave territory, that not a dollar of money could be appropriated nor an acre of land could be granted for this stupendous improvement which has since then united the Atlantic and Pacific together in unbroken bands of iron. How was it afterwards? As I have said, all these things have been brought to pass by the educative processes to which the soldiers of the republic were subjected in the tremendous task to which they adapted themselves and in which they succeeded. The war changed all that. We became one country. We were one nation. We were under one flag. The idea of secession ceased to be tolerated for a moment. It is not bruited to-day. It is not thought of. It has passed into oblivion.

This is a subject, my fellow-citizens, upon which one could talk at great length, yet only a tithe of what is necessary must now be said.

It seems to me that whenever the name of the American soldier and sailor is mentioned, the memory should go back and place itself in the position in which the mind, the feeling, the heart, and the conscience of this country were in that distressing and awful time when every community felt that upon itself in some degree was the burden of the preservation of this Union.

That host is passing fast away. They went forth in the flower of their youth as gayly as to a festival. They unclasped the arms of love and felt the holy perfume of its parting kiss, thinking perhaps they never more should retaste those surrendered joys. They are become old and feeble, perhaps somewhat exacting in their demands at times; but remember there was a time in the history of this republic when the nation stood up and with one voice promised them all that they would see to it that their old age should be honored and comfortable; and when some political intriguer, with a pen like a dagger, in veto message or otherwise, stabs the claim of these soldiers and sailors, or when some Mugwump, who has come upon the scene of life after dangers which he could not realize, and which if he had lived he could not have been induced to risk himself in (laughter and applause), tells you

that these claims have been barred by the statute of limitations, that they are unconscionable and extreme, and should be disregarded, take him, if you can, but take at least your own memories back to that other time when we felt that our earthly all depended upon the soldiers and sailors of the republic.

It was a sublime conception of the German poet Zedlitz that before the statue of the great Napoleon in the Place Vendôme the hosts of the empire muster for review.

While Paris sleeps the disembodied cohorts of the dead conqueror break the marble calm of death, and are marshaled upon the fields of air.

The armies of twenty years stand embattled on that aerial plain. They come from the slime of the Nile, from the sands of Arabia, from Russian snows, from German plains, from the fields of Italy, from Alpine ice, from Spanish sierras, from the waves of Trafalgar. The imperial marshals are there; Murat with his squadrons; Davoust with the victors of Auerstadt; Massena with the famine-stricken defenders of Genoa; Macdonald, sword in hand and on foot, at the head of the eighteen thousand immortals that broke the Austrian center at Wagram; Ney, slaughtered, leading the apparition of the despairing guard that dashed in vain in bloody surges against the English squares at Waterloo. The specters of auxiliary kings, their brows gold-bound with phantom crowns bestowed by him, career before these shadowy legions, and far off upon the confines of the night the phantasma of vanquished armies is dimly seen in full retreat upon a hundred fields.

Martial music is faintly heard beneath the stars, and upon the spirit banners of the pallid and evanescent host, as it sweeps in dark review before the bronze emperor, who has also taken on a ghostly life, gleam the words "*Vive l'Empereur*," and then the armies of the lost cause melt into the air, and the emperor becomes bronze again.

So now and in all time will the hosts of the army of the great republic defile before a presence still more august. (Great applause.) They rise, arms in hand, from ocean's unreturning depths, from river beds, from Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, Vicksburg, the Wilderness; from every historic battlefield, from deadly forests, from noisome prison-pens.

The living and the dead are there—the white man and his dusky comrade. The great generals are in their places. The

pæans of victorious music are heard again. The starry flag gleams among the constellations; it bears the shining legend: "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!" (Great applause and cheers.) This pageant fades from the Elysian Fields, and History, taking up her pen, writes of that army the imperishable words: "Its cause was not lost, for it was the cause of Liberty, my best-beloved child. It fought the great battle of humanity, and it conquered. It is now consecrated by the reverence of mankind, and it will be revered

'In states unborn, and accents yet unknown.'"

(Great applause and cheers.)

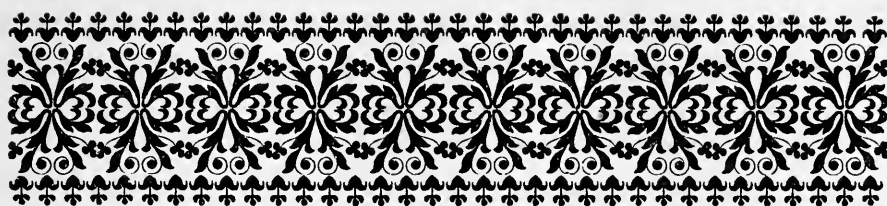
MR. BRAINERD read the next regular toast: "The New States. A Star for every State, and a State for every Star."

"Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant Nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam."—*John Milton*.

I present to you one who fitly represents the four new States, but who holds the commission of one—the new State of South Dakota; Senator Moody. (Great applause.)







## SPEECH OF SENATOR MOODY.

*Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen of the Republican Club, and your honored guests:* I certainly must say at the outset that I very highly appreciate the compliment that was paid to me when your committee invited me to be present upon this very interesting occasion at this splendid banquet.

The wild and woolly West (laughter) has been unwontedly honored at this banquet in this city of New-York. My friend from Illinois I dare not claim as from the West. I traveled too far towards the setting sun, and left him in the East. (Laughter.)

My friend from Iowa is just upon the verge, as is my friend the Senator from Minnesota.

The West! Where is it? To you it has gone glimmering in the distance. Why this honor? The city of New-York has not been thinking about the World's Fair? (Laughter.) You don't want such an institution as that here, of course, I take it for granted. (Laughter.) You know you are holding a World's Fair every day. Relegate the celebration of the landing of Christopher Columbus upon this continent to some suburb of New-York, like Chicago or St. Louis. (Cries of "Right," and applause.) Or else, if you don't want to send it to their limits, put it in that noted city where has been buried the emblem of truth, the little hatchet, for these many years; that city whose business is politics, whose trade is show, and whose flags are kept floated by the wind that blows from the Capitol on the hill. Give it to them. You don't need it.

But, my friends, I did not come here to talk about the World's Fair. I came here to talk about the new States. The subject to which your committee has directed my attention, and

upon which I am expected to respond, is one which brings to the mind more thought than I will be able to give voice to during the time to which my sense of the proprieties of the occasion limits me.

When the fathers and founders of the republic emerged from the smoke and the turmoil of the battles of the Revolution, a problem at once confronted them new in the history of the world. They had thrown down the gage of battle, and submitted to the arbitrament of war, with the most powerful nation on the face of the globe, to enforce what they believed to be the inalienable right of the Anglo-Saxon race, local self-government, home rule. Aided by the most wonderful fortune that ever attended a people in like condition and under like circumstances, they had succeeded in establishing for themselves that great principle. Suddenly the ruled became the rulers, the subject became the sovereign. The colonist found himself no longer a dependent, but having the problem of the management of colonies committed to his charge for just and proper solution.

Lying west of the confederated States, extending to the Mississippi River, was a vast country, fertile in all the resources of nature which go to sustain human life and to fill the measure of human happiness. The country lying north of the River Ohio was already attracting to its bosom many enterprising and adventurous pioneers. The jurisdiction over that region was claimed and disputed by various members of that confederation. The State of Virginia had apparently the deepest foundation for her claim, but it was foreseen that no State could successfully deny the right of the General Government, about to be formed for all the States, to the control of the outlying country.

The stimulus which the formation of a new nation would give to immigration, together with the attractions which the exploring and subduing of a new and untried country always brings to the Anglo-Saxon, it was seen, would very soon populate that country and render organized society and government a necessity.

The problem was, should such government be dependent, colonial in character, indefinitely, or should the principles for which the Revolutionary War stood there find illustration?

The theretofore thirteen colonies had complained with great

earnestness, as though the depths of degradation were consequent thereon, that their governors and judges were appointed by the imperial household of Great Britain; that their local laws were dominated by the Parliament of the British Empire and made subject to modification, amendment, or repeal by that Parliament; that tribunals other than those of their own formation had exercised the ultimate sovereign control over their public affairs, including the disposal of their persons and their property. "Taxation without representation" was their plaintive cry. With the sudden acquisition of power, should the same rule of government be meted out to those who were to become their subjects by inhabiting this dependent country? The temptation to retain power once possessed is ever present in the human breast; it was as potent at that time and upon that generation and with those people, as it is now or has ever been in the history of mankind. But, fortunately, they arose above such temptation. Virginia had not then become the breeding-ground where human beings doomed forever to unrequited toil were reared for the miserable profit realized from their sale. (Applause and laughter.)

The wonderful fecundity of the black race, as the distinguished Senator from Kansas phrases it, stimulated and assisted by the white proprietors, had not been put to the supreme test. (Applause.) Patriots, and not mere breeders of human slaves, held full sway within her borders. Virginia consented that the Federal Union about to be formed should have exclusive jurisdiction there-over, upon the sole condition that the inhabitants should have all the rights and privileges of local self-government and the ultimate right of full fellowship in the American Union, on an equal footing with the original States. To this condition all the States gladly consented; and thus, by the compact known as the Ordinance of 1787, in the then Northwest there was established forever the grand American principle, local self-government and equality in the Union.

From that time until the commencement of the struggle of South Dakota for admission into the Union, that principle was never denied to any portion of the American people. We find the same doctrine embodied in the organization of the country south of the River Ohio, and inserted in the treaty with France by which the country west of the Mississippi was

secured to the Government. It runs through all the organizations of outlying communities, and was never questioned, as applied to the white race, until the exigencies of modern partisan politics demanded its violation. Whenever the conditions of population and material resources existed, sufficient to insure a permanent, stable, local government, State after State was carved out of the outlying territory, and admitted by Representatives into the Congress of the Union on an equal footing with the original States. And thus the thirteen States had grown to thirty-eight with all the attendant magnitude and importance.

In the case of South Dakota, this principle of local self-government was ignored and denied for years. The dominant element in the Democratic party had waged a wicked war to destroy the Union, and to establish in a large section of the country a government, the supporting column of which was human slavery, wholly inconsistent with the American principle of local self-government, as established and maintained by the universal voice of the people. The result of the war had more firmly fixed that principle. The "erring sisters" had been invited to return, with their sins forgiven and their bloody garments washed as white as undefiled snow, by their intended victim; their representatives came grudgingly back into the temples of power, with a determination to destroy by insidious means what they could scarcely peril by open armed hostility.

The then Northwest, beyond the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, the extent and capabilities of which were not dreamed of in the wildest imagination of the early statesmen of the land, was rapidly filling with an enterprising, energetic, industrious, and thrifty people, drawn from the best blood of the Eastern and Middle States of our own country and from the bravest and best of Europe. The communities they had formed were outlying colonies; they were desirous of throwing off the yoke of dependence; they justly complained, as the original thirteen colonies had complained, that they were deprived of the privileges so dear to the Anglo-Saxon, the privilege of choosing their own rulers, making their own laws, and of equality in representation; they complained that their judges and their governors were appointed by the imperial government at Washington, that their local laws were subject

to modification, amendment, or repeal by, to them, a foreign tribunal; that not the Parliament of Great Britain, but the Congress of the United States, without their consent, and without the opportunity of consenting or protesting, enacted laws for them. They sought admission into the Union of States. South Dakota, having advanced more rapidly in population and resources than the others, first appealed to the Congress of the United States for recognition in her behalf of the principle which had been conceded to the other Territories from the early history of the Government, and never denied. Confessedly, for no responsible Representative in either branch of Congress had the temerity to deny it, she was fully equipped for all the dignities of Statehood, with a population of nearly half a million of American citizens, with resources so vast and enlightened organizations so complete as to excite the wonder of the country. But the exigencies of party politics, the exhibition of partisan malice, demanded that the American principle of local self-government should be violated and denied in her case. Tens of thousands of Union soldiers, with their wives and their little ones, had sought refuge there; they had builded homes and communities; they had reared school-houses and churches; they had established schools and Christian societies; they had gone forth to subdue the wilderness; they had made

“The desert to blossom as the rose”;

they had added materially to the revenues of the country; they had paid taxes without representation, and had not murmured; but above and beyond all things, the sum of their shortcomings, the one mortal crime for which they could not be forgiven, was that they voted, by a majority of fifty thousand, the Republican ticket. (Great applause.) They cast their ballots as they had handled their muskets to put down the Rebellion and uphold the Union, and therefore the principle of local self-government in them could be violated by the great Democratic party without one qualm of conscience. The great Northwestern States would vote in the Electoral College, as their people had marched, to the music of the Union. That Union would be strengthened by their admission; hence at all hazards, at the expense of the violation of every principle of justice and freedom, those people must be kept for an indefi-

nite time in a condition of dependency as outlying colonies; and all the immeasurable blessings attendant upon a sovereign State in the Union must be denied them. No matter how often the Republican branch of the American Congress attempted to right this wrong, Democratic leadership in the other branch would rivet the chains still more firmly. Then it was that the people of the Northwest appealed to the great heart of the nation.

In the National Republican Convention held in Chicago in 1888, the full measure of recognition was given them. They were allowed to participate in the nomination of the men who were to preside over the destinies of the nation. What was more important still, that great convention inserted in its declaration of principles the doctrine for which Dakota had been contending, and which is as self-evident as the principles contained in the Declaration of Independence. (Applause.)

Let me refresh your patriotism by reading to you, from the platform, that statement of the true American principle which should govern the treatment of American citizens who go forth to create new States, a principle familiar to the fathers, and by which this nation has grown so great:

“The government by Congress of the Territories is based upon necessity only to the end that they may become States in the Union; therefore, whenever the conditions of population, material resources, public intelligence, and morality are such as to insure a stable local government therein, the people of such Territories should be permitted, as a right inherent in them, to form for themselves Constitutions and State governments, and be admitted into the Union. Pending the preparation for Statehood, all the officers thereof should be selected from the *bona fide* residents and citizens of the Territories wherein they are to serve. South Dakota should of right be immediately admitted as a State in the Union under the Constitution framed and adopted by her people, and we heartily endorse the action of the Republican Senate in twice passing bills for her admission. The refusal of the Democratic House of Representatives, for partisan purposes, to favorably consider these bills, is a willful violation of the sacred American principle of local self-government, and merits the condemnation of all just men. The pending bills in the Senate for acts to enable the people of Washington, North Dakota, and Montana territories to form Constitutions and establish State governments, should be passed without unnecessary delay.”

Upon that issue, with other great ones, the party of freedom, the party of the people, went to the country, and the electors by their ballots declared that those principles were

immutable, unyielding and inflexible, and as firmly established in the minds of the American people as the laws of nature in the realm of the universe. A Republican President and Congress were elected. The handwriting had been blazoned upon the wall in letters of living light announcing to the Democratic party that it had been weighed in the balance and found wanting. A voice of warning and of condemnation had arisen in the land commanding the Democratic party to

“Depart, ye accursed, into everlasting punishment.”

(Great laughter and applause.)

With this decree of the American people thus pronounced upon them, and like the usual sinner when detected in his sin and condemned, that party sought to repent of its crime against the rights of American freemen, and in the moment of contrition reluctantly consented to the re-establishment of the principle of local self-government in that great Northwest country, and thus four new States were born. But it was too late for the Democratic party to save itself by this contrite act. Too many years had it stood like an insurmountable wall against the progress of human freedom and the principles of American liberty throughout the Northwest to induce those people to believe that it had yielded except to the law of absolute necessity.

The bringing of four new States into the Union, the adding of four new and luminous orbs to the starry constellation, the opening of all that great country to freedom in almost the same instant of time, is indeed a magnificent spectacle. More than one-third as many American people as braved the terror of the British lion became at once habilitated with the paraphernalia of sovereigns in the American Union, and exhibited in their experience the joy and gladness which followed American independence. (Applause.)

From the great lakes to the Pacific Ocean, almost across a continent, there now extends along the northern boundary of the Union a cordon of sovereign States, grand in their possibilities beyond any picture which the most fervent poet may paint in the moment of his highest inspiration. Four new States, forming the main part of that great cordon, each exceeding the whole of New England, with a soil unsurpassed in fertility, traversed by navigable rivers more extensive than

stretch from the source to the mouth of the Mississippi, with all the precious and useful minerals stored in their bosoms, inexhaustible during the life of the human race, invite the husbandman to partake of the vast agricultural riches which lie within their garner; they beckon the miner and the mechanic to delve for the precious metals and add them to the currency of the world, to utilize the coal, the iron, the tin, the lead, the copper and the other useful minerals therein, and make all subservient to the welfare and the happiness of man. The defiling foot-prints of human slavery have never marked, but to blacken and to wither, the sacred soil of those new States. In that rigorous climate the unpaid labor of the weak and wearied black man could not be made to yield a profit, so the cupidity of the master did not stimulate him to struggle for supremacy in that arena. Those plains and mountain ranges were consecrated by nature's laws to the use of the sturdy white man, whose birthplace was in a clime conducive to a love of freedom, of independence, and of justice.

By the very nature of his surroundings in that favored land, by the exhilarating air he breathes, by the brilliant sunshine so usual and invigorating, by the vastness of the prairies and woodlands and mountains which he inhabits, man is rendered incapable of long submitting to or perpetrating wrong. Just laws are enacted and obedience thereto compelled. Every man can cast a free ballot and every ballot be honestly counted. With the exception of a remnant of the left wing of Price's army, who still linger in the weird canons of Montana, no man desires other than a fair election, where the choice of the majority shall be justly recorded.

With Wyoming and Idaho added to the column, as the years go on the millions of free American citizens who will inhabit the great Northwest will increase vastly the strength and material resources of the nation. It is wise to remember that still westward of the center of the Dakotas east and west lies the central line between the oceans. (Great applause.) He whose vision is limited by knowledge only of the Atlantic and Middle States, can scarcely realize the possibilities of the future for this great people.

In about every twenty-five years since the foundation of the Government the United States have doubled in population. Similar conditions exist sufficient to warrant the prediction of



a continuance of this wonderful growth. If no unforeseen contingency shall arise, then during the lifetime of this generation the great Northwest, receiving as it will a full proportion of this increase, will justify the most extravagant prophecy of its proudest worshiper. Its men and its women will ever be found loyal to the principles of the American Government, and if foreign foe or fratricidal hand shall threaten its destruction, the Northwest will stand as faithful as the flow of the waters of its great rivers and as firm as its mountains in defense of the Constitution and the Union. (Great applause.) The wind may speed across the great plains, but there is the land of freedom. He who inhabits it feels the inspiration which the poet voices, "Blow on, ye winds, blow on! This is the land of Liberty!" The rigors of the climate but make braver men and fairer women. The days of the pioneer, with all the hardships incident to his career, have gone; the iron horse treads his steel-paved road from border to border, from end to end; happy and enlightened communities are everywhere organized; schoolhouses and churches are reared upon "every hill-top and by every purling brook"; well organized governments hold firm rein of peaceful power; temperance and morality are inculcated by law, by precept, and by example; and above and beyond all, this great nation's life is eternally perpetuated by the love which the people bear for the Union, and for the principles of that great party whose footsteps in its infancy were guided in the true path of freedom by the immortal Lincoln. (Great applause.)

Your great State of New-York, powerful as it is, may fly from its political orbit and go crushing into subserviency to the Democratic party; but the great Northwest will still uphold that grand party, the birthday of whose martyr you are celebrating, and make it possible for us all to love the Government because it is administered by the hand of justice and of right. (Great applause and cheers.)

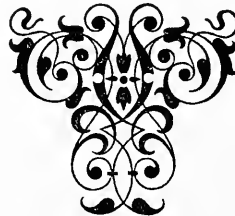
MR. BRAINERD: The next toast, gentleman, is "The Southern Franchise," to which Mr. McComas, of Maryland, was to have responded. He expressed a very great desire to free his mind as a representative from a border State upon the questions it suggests, but the pressure of the situation compelled him to remain in Washington.

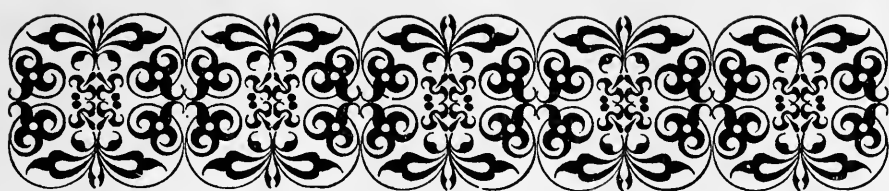
We pass to another toast: "Education, the bulwark of the Republican party."

"Our needful knowledge, like our needful food,  
Unhedged lies open in life's common field,  
And bids all welcome to the vital feast."

'Education must be universal. It is well when the wise and learned discover new truths; but how much better to diffuse the truths already discovered amongst the multitude."

Gentlemen will remember that the fathers at the beginning founded Harvard, and Yale, and William and Mary. They acted on the sentiments of the toast just read. They knew them. I introduce to you a pilgrim of the Pilgrims, Rev. Samuel H. Virgin, D. D., of this city.





### SPEECH OF DR. VIRGIN.

*Mr. Chairman and Fellow-citizens :* I will try to keep you but a little while from that cheerful benediction with which one of the high priests of the Republican party will very soon dismiss us. (Laughter.)

If I had had the ear of our President I should have asked that in introducing me he would kindly omit all references to professional life, even dropping every title, academic or honorary, for I certainly do not stand at this table and in the presence of my fellow-Republicans of this city as a clergyman. I am here simply to-night as an humble but ardent and loving friend and supporter of the Republican party. (Great applause.)

The theme which has just been presented to us in these felicitous words is both large and serious. Large enough to call for a convention with unlimited hours for debate. Serious enough to rebuke the half-humorous spirit in which we love to consider all these questions after dinner, especially after a dinner at Delmonico's, and when it is well-nigh midnight; and yet the theme is exceedingly alluring—alluring to us all; and rising to respond to it for a few moments, I feel a sympathy with that boy who was always hoping he might be thrown into the middle of a pond of ice-cream, so that he would be compelled to eat his way out. (Laughter.)

But, gentlemen, the theme is one that resists partial and fragmentary treatment; it refuses to be divided or broken without exacting the penalty that follows the breaking of the Lord's day; and I confess to a fellow-feeling, as I rise to speak, with that man who started out one Sunday morning with a rod and basket on his arm, and, unfortunately for him,

met the dominie, who was also out for a little morning jaunt, and who, noticing the suspicious basket, said, "Ah, my friend, I am afraid you are going to break the Lord's day," when the man with apparent piety and at least a happy courage looked at the good dominie and replied, "Oh, not to *break* the Lord's day. I would n't do that, and so I started out very early this morning that I might make a *whole* day of it." (Laughter.)

Gentlemen, I wish we had an opportunity for a *whole* discussion of this great theme; and yet it scarcely needs discussion. It is hardly worth while for us to debate a question upon which we are fully agreed, and I might be content to respond to this toast simply by rehearsing in your willing ears the delectable story of our great party; recalling its origin and its triumphs, its plans and its majestic purposes, its lofty ideals and thrilling discussions, its struggles in the forum and its mighty victories on the field; recalling the noble issues that it has presented before the people of this country; recalling its list of heroes, men great in the field of debate, men mighty on the field of battle, men heroic in the administration of public affairs, the very mention of whose names stirs our pride and calls forth the applause of admiring nations. For it is a solemn fact that the history of the Republican party is but a demonstration of the truth that education has been, still is, and ever must be, the bulwark of our prosperity. (Great applause.) To debate this question seems almost foolish, for there is not a man here nor elsewhere in the land, in his senses, black or white or brown or yellow, who will not say that education lies at the basis of national prosperity.

We are far away from the time when the good old Governor of Virginia, Sir William Berkeley, twenty years after the formation of the common schools in New England, wrote deliberately, in clear, cold ink, these words: "I thank God that there are no free schools or printing here, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years, for learning has brought heresy and disobedience and sects in religion, and printing has divulged them, and they militate against the best government. God keep us from both." If the student of early colonial life shall discover any difference between Massachusetts and Virginia, it may be he shall find the explanation in the utterances of their several governors upon this single question of education. (Applause.) The Repub-

lican party is *facile princeps* the party of ideas. Ideas are the fruit of sober thinking. Ripened thought is the result of education, and therefore the triumphs of the Republican party are the triumphs of education.

The Republican party in this country is responsible for its magnificent wealth, for it has had the helm, lo! these many years, and under its guidance these millions have accumulated. The Republican party in this country is responsible for its industry, for lo! it has guided and protected it these many years. The Republican party in this country is responsible for its strength, because it has nursed and developed it through these many years. The Republican party in this country is responsible for its integrity, for it has been ever working at the fountain-head of that which makes a nation strong and upright, brave and good; and these great triumphs which stir the applause of the world to-day, national wealth, national strength, national industry, and national integrity are the fruits of that educational policy which has lain at the basis of all Republican institutions and development. (Great applause.)

But it may be claimed by some that this toast is especially inappropriate in connection with a celebration of the memory of Abraham Lincoln, inasmuch as it is so constantly asserted that in his early life he was without education. I venture to throw the gauntlet down for debate before any man who makes that assertion. I differ in toto with Hon. George S. Boutwell in his estimate of the early educational advantages of Abraham Lincoln. He says they bear no ratio whatever to the genius and greatness of his subsequent work; and yet he admits that the boy Lincoln had always in his hand a grammar and a geometry; and I say, gentlemen, if a boy can master the science of language as unfolded in the grammar of the day, and can master that exact science which is known among us as geometry, he has started well on a good educational basis. (Applause.)

I remember well when there came to me an unusual pleasure in the knowledge that Charles Sumner, who for his learning and his moral heroism was the pride and boast of my boyhood, in the shadow of whose colossal form it was my boyish delight to walk as he came home from Congress to spend a little time in the city of Boston,—a boyish fanaticism at

which I do not now, even in my manhood, blush at all,—I say it was a rare pleasure and encouragement for me to learn that he never could attain any excellent marks in the study of mathematics in his college days; but Abraham Lincoln as a boy succeeded in the mastery of all those problems that are involved in that exact science. Moreover, every biographer tells us that Lincoln very early in his life had read and committed to memory large portions of the Holy Scriptures; that he memorized and held ready to repeat at any time all of Æsop's fables; that he was entirely familiar with Weems's "Life of Washington"; that he had read and digested a life of Henry Clay; and that Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," with all its marvelous imagery, was early stored in his mind; and that a little later he added to his reading the "Life of Franklin" and Ramsey's "Life of Washington"; and I say, gentlemen, if a boy has mastered those works he has drunk at the fountain of all that is pure in literature, all that is strong in character-making, all that is stirring in the emotions of the soul, all that cultivates a sound judgment, and all that is sure to make him a man of might among his fellow-men. (Applause.)

Abraham Lincoln is not an illustration for the boys of our land who hope to rise from nothing and idleness to the high positions in our country. I think we do injustice also to the memory of our fathers, when we think and speak of those who came across the stormy seas, and laid the foundations of our republic in the cold climate of New England, as uneducated men; when we depreciate in the least their intellectual qualities and their masterly attainments. We are wont to speak of their roughness, their severity, of their long hair, their uncouth appearance, and their nasal tones, and draw the conclusion that they had little brain but much courage. Gentlemen, they had education of the noblest and the truest kind; and when the Pilgrim colonists found that they were to land, not within the borders of the Virginia patent toward which they were sailing, but that they were coming in the chill November air toward what seemed to be a point of land north of latitude 41°, and so outside the boundary line of their patent, it was reported all over the *Mayflower* that some were saying, "Now we can do as we please. We are not under king, queen, or ruler. We are freebooters. Each man is a law to himself." And when this came to the ears of the leaders in that *May-*

*flower*, they summoned every man into the cabin and there prepared *extempore* that magnificent declaration that lies at the basis of all our national life. (Applause.)

The heritage from our fathers is the spirit of education, and it has come down to us unsullied, and it must be sent along by us to our children and our children's children through successive generations. We must never forget that Harvard College was founded only seventeen years after the landing of the Pilgrims, and that ten years later our common-school system was established in Connecticut; that very early the schoolmaster was one of the leading men in every community. I will not at this late hour rehearse the statistics of illiteracy, with which doubtless you are all familiar. I am not unmindful of those deductions that were drawn from the statistics of illiteracy in 1880 as compared with those of 1870; and when the statistics of 1890 shall be in our hands, men already predict worse conclusions from a comparison between those and the statistics of 1880. There are men so blinded that they can only see a little section of the land at a time, or for whom shadows are more attractive than sunshine,—but if I wish to study the bird life of this land, I do not care to take a vessel and sail along the coast after a storm and look at the heaps of dead birds that have been killed by dashing themselves against the lighthouses. I would rather go to my farm-home in Massachusetts and watch the return of the robins and the sweet-voiced thrushes, the jeweled humming-birds, and catch the tender warbling of the beautiful songsters as they flit in the air and make our hours in the country delightful. (Applause.)

So, if I want to study the actual educational problem of the land, I do not go alone to the homes of degradation, and misery, and shame, and ignorance that cluster by the great lighthouses of our cities, the brilliant centers of civilization; nor where a single institution of learning flashes its light into surrounding darkness; nor to a single section of the land; but rather go and look at the life spread all over the land, and catch the inspiration of the education of our day. There is nothing in all the world more brilliant, more inspiring, more stirring to American patriotism, than the great clusters of schools, academies, colleges and universities, and seminaries of our land, together with the art and scientific schools, musi-

cal conservatories, institutions for the study of law, medicine, and theology, and all connected with them, strung along the thread of public opinion from the forests of Maine, by our great rivers, over the Rockies to the shores of the Pacific, far up to the North and West — for though our Hon. Senator from Dakota declared that Illinois was not West, Iowa was not West, but Dakota was West, shall I remind him that the central meridian of this great country skirts the eastern border of Alaska. (Applause.) Far over the land, dominating every section, goes this great principle that is to make our citizens in the future wise and strong and good. The school and college are being planted everywhere,—and the illiteracy of a section is not indicative of the whole. If you ask me then to suggest briefly to what I would have the Republican party specially give its influence, I would say — direct it in four lines. First let us insist that every child, of every name and every color, that comes to life within our border, or stays with us for any length of time, shall learn the three R's — shall be instructed in Reading, 'Riting, and 'Rithmetic. (Great applause.)

But he should be so instructed that he never will repeat them in the moss-covered alliteration to which Congressman Dolliver referred, and called them rum, rheumatism, and rebellion. (Laughter and applause.) But there is a great multitude of children in the South that are not now instructed, and for whom there is no adequate provision. The shadow thus thrown is not altogether from the color of their skin. Their necessities must be met and supplied. I was glad to read in the morning paper the bill that was introduced by Senator Edmunds, concerning compulsory instruction of the children of the Mormons in Utah Territory. Let them, and let the Indian wards, be taught; let the black children be everywhere taught; *compel* the education of all. Second, let the Republican party throw the might of its influence in molding the instruction of all our children in patriotic sentiments and in the ballads of our country. Mr. Dolliver referred in eloquent words to the necessary presence of a portrait of Lincoln in every home. The patriotic song is just as essential and just as educative. Can we recall for a moment the stir that went through all our hearts when, in the time of war, we heard in the street, or in the home, or in the school-room, "Tramp, tramp, tramp, the boys are marching"? Can we



recall the thrill that went through us when we heard Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic" floating out upon the evening air. Those ballads were inspiring and stimulating. They were the basis of great patriotic impulse. They made it possible for us to telegraph, to say, and to sing,

" We are coming, Father Abraham,  
Three hundred thousand more —— "

They have just as much power to-day as they had then.

I went over, a week or two ago, at the invitation of the Board of Managers of the House of Refuge, to speak to the juvenile delinquents there, when the new "star-spangled banners" were placed on the walls of their school-room. I confess I was charmed and stirred to the very marrow of my bones, as I heard the juvenile delinquents rise all over that school-room and repeat the sententious patriotic maxims of our land, from the "Liberty and Union" of Webster, to the latest utterance of the day, the smallest boy pointing with a long, bony finger to the flag and saying, "If any man dares pull that flag down, shoot him on the spot." (Great applause.) There is an education that attends familiarity with these utterances dear to us as Republicans, and all that is dear to us as Republicans is synonymous with all that is grand in the prosperity of our land. (Great applause.)

The third point upon which we must insist is that all the youth in some way should be educated in the history and principles of our Government. I had occasion last year to deliver a lecture to the young men of the University of the City of New-York, and I could find no more appropriate theme than the necessity of preparation, on the part of every young man who expects to spend his life in mercantile pursuits, for the great and noble exercise of the right of suffrage. It is essential for us that our young men, and all that are to take our places by and by in carrying forward the great principles of our party and Government, should receive their ideas, not second-hand, not from the party newspaper, not from some individual who has some personal desire to secure in the advocacy of his principles or in securing his vote, but from a calm and considerate contemplation of the great principles that underlie our life. They can only come from careful study. An Institute of Civics has been organized in this city

for this express purpose. It is the duty of the Republican party to create such sentiment throughout all the land that the young men shall feel that they are not fitted to vote until they have qualified themselves in the essential points of our national history. We laugh at the educated foreigners who blunder concerning our land. Dr. Schaff reports that at the 800th anniversary of the University of Bologna, gentlemen there, educated highly in all scientific and philosophical studies, put Canada in South America, and located Princeton in Central America, and called New Jersey an independent republic. (Laughter.)

We laugh; but how many gentlemen would like to stand up here and let me catechise them on the Declaration of Independence, or the Constitution of the United States, or on our magnificent political history.

I was glad to find, again referring to the House of Refuge, that the principal, Mr. Hallock, was teaching them twice a week in careful lectures all that is contained in the Constitution of the United States, and those boys who come out from that institution will come out trained in many respects to be better citizens and better Republicans than those that are left outside and are deprived of such instruction.

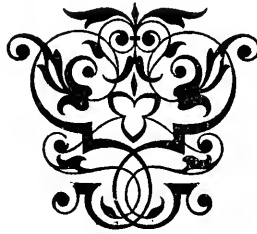
But my last point is this. We must as a party throw all the weight of our influence for an education in conscience. *That is the need of the day.* I never shall forget the impressions that came to my boyish mind whenever I walked through old Leveret Street in Boston. Some of you must remember Leveret Street. The old jail was there. (Laughter.) Long after that old jail was removed there came constantly to me the thought of that official execution that there took the life of that learned Professor Webster, as the murderer of Dr. Parkman, a man of high intellectual attainments, a man rich in his erudition, but the murderer of his fellow-man, who had simply asked the honest payment of a debt. Whose are the hands that count and recount the ballots in the South, and count them incorrectly? Whose are the hands that are often stained with blood? Who are the men that marshal their miserable devotees in our city, and make them walk in line with the paid ballot between their thumb and finger held aloft until it is deposited? Men without learning—ignorant—the offscouring of our streets? No; but men of learning and

of skill. Who are the men that sometimes, as presidents of banks, take money that does not belong to them and corrupt public sentiment? Who are the men that plot and plan and connive to bring darkness and sorrow and shame to our land? They are not the ignorant, but they are men trained intellectually, but without trained consciences. He who took the life whose beginning we celebrate to-night was not an ignorant man, but his conscience was debauched. It was the trained conscience of Abraham Lincoln that made him lofty among the sons of men and the sons of God. It was his trained conscience that brought his signature to that proclamation that glorifies the land. (Great applause.) Among the lofty saints he stands; not only amongst the mighty and worthy intellectually, but also amongst the noble and sublime spiritually. It is the educated conscience that America wants to-day. And when, by the sacred influence of the Republican party, all in the land shall have the rudiments of education provided for them from the public purse, and in some way also shall have instruction in patriotic ballad and patriotic sentiment, and shall also be trained in the history and principles of our Government, and shall have an educated conscience, then will come the glad day when this banner (pointing to the Stars and Stripes), will be more beautiful and significant than ever — beautiful to us, and beautiful to the nations of the earth; for when it is flung by the hand of God on the morning sky, or when it is painted by the angels in the western heaven, when it is floating on the mountain top or floating in the valley, when it rises above the halls of state or swims in the clear air at the mast-head of a regenerated commerce on every sea, it will be everywhere honored, everywhere glorified, everywhere inspiring, the banner of the Republican party, the banner of a united and resistless people, dearer than ever to us all, telling in its very colors the story of our national life, for

“ The blood of the brave hath made deeper the Red —  
And pure is the White from the tears we have shed;  
And the stars are spangled all over the Blue,  
They cluster there still — they are now forty-two.”

(Great applause, and cheers.)

Mr. BRAINERD said: Gentlemen of the club, I venture in your name, with a full heart, to thank the gentlemen who have spoken to us to-night; and anticipating the light of the coming day, I bid you all "good-morning." (Laughter and applause.)





## LETTERS OF REGRET.

VICE-PRESIDENT'S CHAMBER, WASHINGTON, February 5, 1890.

I regret that a previous engagement for the 12th instant will deprive me of the pleasure of joining my fellow-members of the Republican Club at the dinner on that day in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday.

Faithfully yours,

L. P. MORTON.

BANGOR, February 6, 1890.

I am in receipt of your invitation to attend the fourth annual dinner of the Republican Club of the City of New-York, on the 12th instant, in commemoration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

It would give me great pleasure to be present with the club and participate with them in their patriotic and appropriate services, but having engaged to attend a meeting in this city at that time and for a like purpose, I am obliged to request you to excuse me.

Very truly yours,

HANNIBAL HAMLIN.

WASHINGTON, February 8, 1890.

I return you my sincere thanks for your kind invitation to be present at the fourth annual dinner of the Republican Club of the City of New-York, on February 12th, in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday.

It would give me great pleasure to accept, were it not that duties which I cannot postpone seem to render it impossible.

I heartily wish you a full attendance, and predict for you a happy reunion; for the words and the example of Lincoln cannot fail to kindle the eloquence and warm the patriotism of every participant.

Your obedient servant,

JOHN G. NICOLAY.

LAFAYETTE SQUARE, WASHINGTON, D. C., February 8, 1890.

I thank you most heartily for your kind invitation for the dinner of the 12th of February, and regret extremely that unavoidable engagements here prevent me from taking advantage of it.

Yours respectfully,

JOHN HAY.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, O., February 8, 1890.

I regret that a prior engagement prevents me from accepting your valued invitation to the dinner of the Republican Club, in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday. Sincerely, RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, February 8, 1890.

The Secretary of the Treasury acknowledges the courtesy of the invitation, and regrets that it will be impracticable for him to attend the fourth annual dinner of the Republican Club of the City of New-York, to be given on Wednesday evening, February 12th, in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, January 20, 1890.

Mr. B. F. Tracy regrets exceedingly that it will be impossible for him to accept the very kind invitation of the Republican Club to attend its Lincoln dinner on the evening of February 12th.

WAR DEPARTMENT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,  
WASHINGTON, February 12, 1890.

I have just wired you that it was impossible for me to attend the Lincoln dinner this evening. You will remember that when you were here I could give you but little encouragement that I should be able to go. The occasion is such that it would have afforded me great pleasure to have been present; and surely, in view of your letter and telegram, I should have gone if I could have possibly done so.

I thank you again for your kind invitation, and regret the circumstances which have prevented me from accepting the present hospitality of your club. With much respect, yours very truly, REDFIELD PROCTOR.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, WASHINGTON, February 8, 1890.

Owing to the necessities of my official position I will be unable to attend your annual dinner in commemoration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, February 12th, at Delmonico's. It is with much regret that I decline so complimentary an invitation for so interesting an occasion.

Yours truly, JOHN W. NOBLE, Secretary.

ATCHISON, KANSAS, November 23, 1889.

In reply to yours of 21st instant, I would say that I appreciate very highly the distinguished honor of your invitation to respond to the toast of "The Republican Party" at the Lincoln dinner of the Republican Club, at Delmonico's, February 12th, proximo, but the conditions of the public service are such that I am unable to make engagements so far in advance.

I feel quite sure, as you suggest, that my reception would be cordial, and that the occasion will be one of interest and importance.

As the session advances, so that I can decide more definitely, I shall be glad to correspond with you further, unless some one else is meanwhile obtained to respond to the sentiment suggested.

Very truly yours, JOHN J. INGALLS.

SENATE CHAMBER, WASHINGTON, February 6, 1890.

I have had the pleasure to receive your kind invitation to attend the next celebration by your club of the birthday of Lincoln. I regret to say that my necessary attendance upon the Senate will not permit me to visit New-York on the 12th instant, and wishing every prosperity to the celebration, I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

WILLIAM M. EVARTS.

UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C., February 5, 1890.

I have the honor to receive your cordial invitation to attend the fourth annual dinner of the Republican Club on the 12th of February next, at Delmonico's. I regret that my official duties will not allow me to accept your kind invitation. Very truly yours,

JOHN SHERMAN.

UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C., February 11, 1890.

I have to acknowledge receipt of invitation by the Republican Club of the City of New-York to its fourth annual dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday, to be given Wednesday, February 12, 1890, at Delmonico's.

I beg you to convey to the Republican Club my thanks for this added courtesy, and assurance of my regret, greatly intensified by delightful recollections of an evening spent at your banquet table two years ago, that my present situation precludes the acceptance of this invitation.

Yours very truly,

JOHN C. SPOONER.

UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C., February 7, 1890.

I acknowledge with thanks the kind invitation to be present at the fourth annual dinner of the Republican Club of the City of New-York, to be given in commemoration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln. Nothing could afford me greater pleasure than to be present, for I know from past experience how sweet and pleasant a thing it is to be with you. Unfortunately my official duties here will prevent my absence at that time.

The cause of Republicanism receives new growth and vigor from gatherings such as these, and the words there spoken always afford food for thought, and are so widely spread by the metropolitan press that they do good the country over. Very truly yours,

CHAS. F. MANDERSON.

WASHINGTON, February 5, 1890.

Senator Hoar regrets that the condition of his health prevents his acceptance of the invitation of the Republican Club of the City of New-York to dinner, February 12, 1890, at Delmonico's.

UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C., February 7, 1890.

Senator Dawes desires me to express his pleasure at the receipt of an invitation to the fourth annual dinner of your club, to be given on the 12th inst., and his regret that his official duties here compel him to decline.

Very respectfully,

WM. M. OLIN, *Private Secretary*.

SENATE CHAMBER, WASHINGTON, February 6, 1890.

I greatly regret that I cannot accept the kind invitation of the Republican Club of the City of New-York to attend its fourth annual dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday, on the 12th inst. I have a lively and grateful recollection of a previous occasion, but I am engaged to dine with the Republican Club of Newark on that evening.

Sincerely yours,

J. R. HAWLEY.

THE ARLINGTON, WASHINGTON, D. C., February 8, 1890.

Mr. Frank Hiscock acknowledges the honor of an invitation to attend the fourth annual dinner of the Republican Club in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday, to be given February 12, 1890, at Delmonico's, 6:30 P. M., and regrets that a previous engagement for that date will prevent his attendance.

SENATE CHAMBER, WASHINGTON, December 9, 1889.

I thank you and your club very much for the honor of inviting me to your Lincoln dinner on the 12th of February. I regret extremely that I do not think it safe to accept, as at that time, doubtless, Congress will be in the midst of its busiest work and I cannot safely undertake to leave here. I am sure that you will have a most agreeable and interesting occasion, and that you and all the rest of the New-York Republicans will keep up the fight for good government in its best and largest sense.

Very truly yours,

GEO. F. EDMUNDS.

1432 K STREET N. W., WASHINGTON, February 8, 1890.

Mr. Justice Blatchford begs to acknowledge the courteous invitation of the Republican Club of the City of New-York to him to attend its annual dinner on the 12th instant, and to express his regret that he will be unable to be present.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, WASHINGTON, D. C., February 8, 1890.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the invitation of the Republican Club of New-York to be present at the fourth annual dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday, February 12th instant. It would give me great pleasure to be with you on that occasion, but engagements here will render it impossible. With thanks for the courtesy, I am,

Yours very truly,

W. H. H. MILLER.

CHAMBERS OF THE CIRCUIT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES,  
CHICAGO, February 9, 1890.

I am just in receipt of a letter from the committee of which you are president, cordially inviting me to be present at a dinner to be given on Wednesday, the 12th inst., by the Republican Club, in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday. I regret that engagements here will render it impossible for me to be with you. With thanks for the courtesy,

Yours truly,

W. Q. GRESHAM.



UTICA, February 6th.

Mr. Alfred C. Coxe regrets exceedingly that his official duties at Utica will prevent him from accepting the invitation of the Republican Club for Wednesday evening, February 12th.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, Feb. 5, 1890.

Mr. Reed regrets that public duties will prevent his acceptance of your kind invitation to the fourth annual dinner of the Republican Club of the City of New-York in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday, Wednesday, February 12, 1890, at Delmonico's.

COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S.,  
WASHINGTON, February 8, 1890.

I am under obligation to you for the courtesy of a second invitation to attend the annual dinner of the New-York Republican Club on the anniversary of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

I need not say how much I should enjoy meeting with your club again on so important an occasion, but my engagements here will not permit me to leave Washington this week, and I must forego the pleasure for this time. Will you please extend to the members of your noble organization my fraternal and most cordial greetings, and congratulate them that the battle for "the rule of the majority," foreshadowed in my remarks at your banquet last year, has been most hopefully inaugurated in the popular branch of Congress, under the lead of an indomitable Republican from Maine.

Yours very truly, C. A. BOUTELLE.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S., WASHINGTON, D. C.,  
February 5, 1890.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your invitation to be present at the fourth annual dinner of the Republican Club, in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday.

It would give me sincere pleasure to accept your invitation, but I had previously accepted an invitation to attend the banquet of the Brooklyn Republican Club on that same evening. I have a very delightful recollection of an evening spent in New-York as your guest, and regret that the two dinners are to be held on the same evening, for if I have not an appetite for the two dinners, I certainly have a high appreciation of the good-fellowship and pleasure each occasion would afford. Accept my thanks for the courtesy extended, and believe me, Very respectfully,

BENJ. BUTTERWORTH.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S., WASHINGTON, D. C.,  
February 8, 1890.

I greatly regret that what I feared has occurred. I told Mr. Bartlett and the other gentlemen who complimented me by inviting me to the Lincoln dinner that we might be required to remain here because of our scant majority at the time fixed for the dinner. As Secretary of the Republican caucus I have just issued a notice to the Republican Members of the House of Representatives to be in their seats all next week and

until the rules be passed. This injunction I myself must heed, and I regret it compels me to forego my purpose to be with you. I hasten, therefore, to give you the earliest possible notice.

Please express my regrets and thanks to the committee of gentlemen who were good enough to invite me. As a Southern Republican, I desired to say some things respecting the Southern Franchise before an audience such as will gather at the Lincoln dinner. Very truly yours,

L. E. McCOMAS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S., WASHINGTON, D. C.,  
February 7, 1890.

I am in receipt of yours inviting me to be present at the Lincoln dinner on the 12th inst., and respond to the toast on the Restoration of American Shipping. When your committee was here, I informed them that I would come unless the public business in the House or in the Ways and Means Committee should be so urgent as to forbid. What I then feared is to-day made almost certain; the new rules have been reported and will be taken up Monday, with the expectation that they will occupy the House all next week; and the absence of any Republican Member, in view of the closeness of parties, would be inexcusable. I have seen other Members of the House whom I had purposed to suggest to take my place, and all reply that it will not do for them to leave. I am compelled, therefore, much against my wishes, to decline your very kind invitation. Trusting that your meeting may be entirely successful, I remain,

Sincerely yours, NELSON DINGLEY, Jr.

STATE OF CONNECTICUT, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,  
HARTFORD, February 6, 1890.

I very much regret my inability to accept your invitation to the annual dinner of the Republican Club of New-York. An engagement elsewhere for the 12th necessitates my declination. Yours truly,

M. S. BULKELEY.

STATE OF NEBRASKA, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, LINCOLN,  
February 10, 1890.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your invitation requesting my presence at the fourth annual dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday, to be given Wednesday, February 12th, in your city.

In reply thereto I regret to be compelled to say that it will be impossible for me to be with you on the occasion named, on account of previous engagements.

May the occasion be one of great satisfaction to all of you.

Very truly yours, JOHN M. THAYER.

25 UNIVERSITY AVENUE, ST. PAUL, February 8, 1890.

Compliments and regrets of Governor Wm. R. Merriam to the Republican Club of the City of New-York, at its fourth annual dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday, to be given Wednesday, February 12, 1890, at Delmonico's, 6:30 P. M.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, INDIANAPOLIS, February 7, 1890.

Governor Hovey regrets that a previous engagement will prevent him from accepting the invitation of the Republican Club of the City of New-York for the 12th instant.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,  
BOSTON, February 5, 1890.

I desire to express to you and your associates of the Republican Club of the City of New-York my hearty thanks for the invitation to be present at its fourth annual dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday, on the 12th instant, and my regret that a multitude of duties and engagements which will keep me in Massachusetts will prevent an acceptance of the same.

I am, yours sincerely,

J. Q. A. BRACKETT.

STATE OF MAINE, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, AUGUSTA, February 8, 1890.

Accept my sincere thanks for your kind invitation to be present at the fourth annual dinner of the Republican Club in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday.

I should be pleased to be with you upon that occasion, but regret that official duties will render it impossible.

The name of Abraham Lincoln is one which the American people will always delight to honor. His memory was a rich legacy which his countrymen will ever cherish with love and pride. Very truly yours,

EDWIN C. BURLEIGH.

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,  
PROVIDENCE, February 7, 1890.

Governor Ladd thanks the Republican Club of the City of New-York for their invitation to be present at their fourth annual dinner at Delmonico's in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday, to be given Wednesday, February 12, 1890, and regrets that he will be unable to attend.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, STATE OF VERMONT, WATERBURY,  
February 10, 1890.

Governor Dillingham presents his compliments to the Republican Club of the City of New-York, and regrets that he cannot be present at its fourth annual dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday, to be given Wednesday, February 12th next, at Delmonico's.

HARRISBURG, PA., February 12, 1890.

Sincerely regret my inability to join members of Republican Club of City of New-York at their fourth annual dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday; am honored by the invitation, and would gladly attend if it were possible.

JAMES A. BEAVER.

STATE OF KANSAS, GOVERNOR'S OFFICE, TOPEKA, February 11, 1890.

I am in receipt of your very kind invitation to be present at the fourth annual dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday, which should have had earlier attention but for absence from the capital.

It would afford me genuine pleasure to participate with you on this occasion, but even if the pressure of business of any official character would permit it, the time is now too limited to enable me to reach your city on the date named.

Please convey to the committee with whom you are associated my sincere thanks for the invitation, and my regrets that it is not possible for me to accept the same.

Yours very respectfully,

LYMAN U. HUMPHREY.

FIFTH AVENUE HOTEL, MADISON SQUARE, NEW-YORK,

February 10, 1890.

I beg to acknowledge with many thanks your invitation to attend the fourth annual dinner of the Republican Club in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday, the 12th instant.

I regret that my official duties with the G. A. R. will prevent me from being with you. Sincerely yours, R. A. ALGER.

75 WEST SEVENTY-FIRST STREET, NEW-YORK.

General W. T. Sherman regrets that a positive engagement for the evening of February 12th will deprive him of the pleasure of accepting the kind invitation of the Republican Club to their fourth annual dinner in commemoration of Lincoln's birthday.

SYRACUSE, N. Y., February 12, 1890.

Regret exceedingly unable to come to Lincoln's birthday dinner.

WILLIAM J. WALLACE.

GOVERNOR'S ISLAND, NEW-YORK CITY, February 5, 1890.

Your invitation to dine on the 12th instant came to me this morning. I regret that, owing to an engagement on the same evening with Lafayette Camp No. 140, Sons of Veterans, I am obliged to decline. With all other Americans who had a personal acquaintance with Mr. Lincoln, and millions more, I rejoice greatly for the day of his birth.

O. O. HOWARD, Major-General U. S. A.

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 6, 1890.

Mr. Theodore Roosevelt regrets greatly that his official business prevents his accepting the attractive invitation to attend the Republican Club's fourth annual dinner.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR, CENSUS OFFICE,

WASHINGTON, February 8, 1890.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the kind invitation of the Republican Club of the City of New-York to attend its fourth annual dinner in commemoration of the birthday of Abraham Lincoln, on Wednes-

day evening, February 12th. I thank you very much for the invitation, but while it will be a great disappointment to me not to attend, my public duties here are so exacting, especially at this time, that it will be impossible for me to get away, even for a day. Very respectfully,

ROBERT P. PORTER.

233 CLARENDON STREET, BOSTON, December 4, 1889.

I have not delayed most serious consideration of the cordial and attractive invitation which you brought me yesterday, and I must not put off telling you the decision to which I have been forced to come.

The more I survey this winter the more I am convinced that I must not add another to the appointments which I have already made, certainly not another so important as this which you propose. I must therefore decline the invitation with which the Republican Club have honored me, and not hope to have the pleasure of speaking at their dinner.

I know you will believe yourself and will make the club believe that I value their invitation, that I thank them for it most sincerely, and that I would have come most gladly if I could, but I must keep to my sermons.

I am sorry that you had so much trouble to find me yesterday, but I thank you for your visit, and am, my dear sir,

Yours most sincerely,

PHILLIPS BROOKS.

CUSTOM-HOUSE, NEW-YORK, COLLECTOR'S OFFICE, February 11, 1890.

Mr. Erhardt regrets that he is unable to accept the kind invitation to dine at Delmonico's with the Republican Club, on February 12th, owing to a previous engagement.

465 LEXINGTON AVENUE, MONDAY, February 10th.

Mr. Alonzo B. Cornell regrets that absence from home will prevent his acceptance of the courteous invitation of the Republican Club for the annual dinner on Wednesday evening.

RECTORY OF THE INCARNATION, 209 MADISON AVENUE,  
NEW-YORK, February 12, 1890.

Rev. Arthur Brooks greatly regrets that an important engagement prevents his attending the dinner of the Republican Club this evening, and desires to convey his heartiest thanks to the club for the honor of the invitation.

THE MICHIGAN CLUB, 92 WEST FORT STREET,  
DETROIT, MICH., February 10, 1890.

I am in receipt of invitation to attend the fourth annual dinner of the New-York Republican Club, and regret exceedingly that it will be impossible for me to be present, owing to my work here in connection with our fifth annual banquet. I have always desired to attend one of the noted dinners of your club, and to have the pleasure of mingling with your members. I know you will have a good time, and be benefited by the gathering. Thanking you and the club for the courtesy extended, I remain,

Very truly yours,

FRED. E. FARNSWORTH.

STATE OF NEW-YORK, SPEAKER'S ROOM, February 6, 1890.

I am very sorry that I shall not be able to accept the invitation of the club to its Lincoln birthday dinner. I am engaged on the same mission in Troy; otherwise, I should be delighted to be with you.

Yours very sincerely, J. W. HUSTED.

ALBANY, February 10, 1890.

Mr. John A. Sleicher acknowledges receipt of your courteous invitation to attend the banquet of the Republican Club at Delmonico's, February 12th, and regrets that a prior engagement will prevent his acceptance.

ALBANY, N. Y., February 12, 1890.

The Unconditional Club sends greetings and invites your co-operation to secure passage of our bill now pending in Legislature to make Lincoln's birthday a legal holiday.

HOWARD N. FULLER, *President*.

